AKWESASNE NOTES

LATE SPRING 1987

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WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
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Pete Seeger, America's acclaimed folksinger, performs at a benefit concert for Akwesasne Notes.
Photo: Tina Sunday

IN THIS ISSUE:

	PAGE NO.
PETE SEEGER CONCERT	3
SIBERIA	4,5
ONONDAGAS OUTLAW GAMBLING	6
PLASTIC MEDICINE MEN	7
RUSSELL MEANS	8
P.A.R.R.	9
LUBICON LAKE	10
ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS	12
MINNEAPOLIS MURDERS	12
CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE INDIAN	14
TUSCARORA GAMBLING FIGHT	16
MISURASATA PEACE TREATY	18
GUATEMALA REPRESSION	21
PARAGUAY MANHUNT	23
HAWAII	24
CHILE	25
BINGO HALL INVESTOR	26
WOMEN'S GATHERING	28
ROWLEY/HAUPTMAN DEBATE CUOMO	29
LETTERS	30,31
WOMEN'S ROLE	32

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How It Is With Us

The coming of summer here in the land of the Haudenosaunee has over the past couple of years meant our people take to the roads to protest the changes that are affecting our lives. Our heritage is under siege not only by foreign elements but by the misguided ambitions of our own people.

Native communities across North America have rushed to take advantage of commercial gambling opportunities presented to them by non-Indian "investors" who, under the cloak of Indian sovereignty, offer "economic development" schemes which should ideally help alleviate the poverty on most reservations. What we have seen happen here at Akwesasne and on other nearby native communities however are challenges to native governments by the Indian people who serve as fronts for these investors.

Our experience here with regards to gambling, tax free sales of cigarettes, fireworks, drugs and weapons has been a bitter one. The way of life here has been by tradition one characterized by a tolerance for one's neighbors. There were, and still is, little formal rules and regulations regarding civil and criminal infractions because there was a unique love of personal liberty and a strong sense of self discipline. When violations of the communal norm occurred public ostracism was usually sufficient to thwart the more extreme offenses. When required the chiefs here would call upon outside authorities for assistance.

In recent years the people of Akwesasne have generally acknowledged the need for an inclusive justice system that would take into account traditional values as well as contemporary concerns. There was also a concerted effort to intitiate rules and regulations that would result in licenses issued for various commercial activities. The final result would be the community through its governments exercising control. These ideas were unfortunately forced to concede to bribery, intimidation, coercion and deception.

Those individuals involved in gambling used every unethical device to frustrate the efforts by the community leaders to regulate that activity. The gamblers by and large succeeded in at least delaying gaming laws. The result was a sudden influx of slot machines, bingo halls, cigarette smuggling and gun running through Indian communities. Conflicts such as the one reported in Notes 19, No. 1 and in this issue arose with alarming frequency. The New York and federal officials were hesitant to get involved because of their past experiences had conditioned them to expect confrontations whenever they sought to challenge Indian rights. At Akwesasne, as at Tuscarora, traditional councils retained the last and strongest elements of sovereignty so it was these systems that were faced with the greatest stress as their own supporters led the movement towards the creation of economic development plans that were rooted in gambling.

Perhaps the most difficult experience was this infusion of tainted money meant the creation of a new class of Indians who are not hesitant to defend their interests with whatever means at their disposal including, as our story on page 16 tells, violence. Indian versus Indian with the "investor" smuggly reaping the profits of Indian sovereignty defended for generations with the blood of our ancestors. This new assault on Indian rights is all the more lethal because it comes from within.

There is a need for a national organization to come to grips with this issue and serve as an information center for native governments that are having similar problems or who want to avoid internal conflicts by obtaining data on potential investors. Model gaming rules would also be helpful along with a service that would inform Indian people about U.S. and Canadian laws in effect or under consideration that might affect gambling on Indian lands. We would urge organizations such as the Canadian Assembly of First Nations or the National Congress of American Indians in the U.S. to consider offering such a service. From our experiences here in Haudenosaunee territory the threat to our rights by gambling is serious enough to warrant international co-operation amongst native peoples throughout Turtle Island.

Lakota singer Floyd Westerman and folksinger Pete Seeger perform in Albany, N.Y. at a benefit for Akwesasne Notes.
Photo: Tina Sunday

Adirondack minstral Poncho dedicates a song to Mohawk elder Ray Fadden at the Notes benefit. Photo: Tina Sunday

Chief Jake Swamp plants a Tree of Peace in Plattsburgh, N.Y.
Staff Photo

TREE OF PEACE PLANTED

Mohawk Nation Chief Jake Swamp planted a Tree of Peace in Plattsburgh, N.Y. April 24 as part of the Tree of Peace Society's effort to encourage world peace efforts. A number of Akwesasne delegates travelled to Plattsburgh to take part in the events which included Jerry McDonald, a member of the Akwesasne Singers. Also at the planting was historian Greg Schaaf, a member of the Tree Society from California.

NOTES BENEFIT CONCERT HELD IN ALBANY

A benefit concert featuring such performers as Pete Seeger, Floyd Westerman and the Standing Arrow Singers was held in Albany, NY on April 11 for the continent's leading native newspaper, Akwesasne Notes.

The concert attracted hundreds of people from throughout the region filling Chancellors Hall in the State Education Building. Many people from Akwesasne also made the long trip south to listen to four and a half hours of native and folk music.

The concert was organized by Hank Hazelton and Greg Scannell of R.A.I.N. and Jack Wandell, of the NYS Dept of Education, all residents of the Albany area and long time supporters of native people. Also instrumental in the production of the concert was Poncho of the Adirondack region. Brian Cole, of Anitasne road here at Akwesasne, acted as master of ceremonies for the event which raised around five thousand dollars.

Also featured as part of the show were local preforming artists Dave Back and Jed Highwater of Akwesasne. The Standing Arrow Singers, consisting of Mitch Chubb, Gesso Thomas, John Thomas, Allan Jock, Mark Light and Alfie Whitecrow started the performance with Indian big drum songs. They were followed by the Lakota singer Floyd Westerman who was joined by Pete Seeger. Other artists appearing at the concert were Becky Hill of the Shinnecock Nation, Midge John of the Senecas, Elario Soto of the Incas and Joanne Shenandoah from the Oneidas. The Adirondack singer and poet Poncho gave a moving tribute to Ray Fadden by singing a special song to the Mohawk historian and conservationist who, along with his family, was in attendance.

Mr. Seeger was given a painting by Mohawk artist John Fadden as a token of appreciation from the staff of Akwesasne Notes with Saka Pembleton, former business manager of Notes, doing the actual presentation on behalf of all current and past notes employees.

Assisting Mr. Hazelton and Mr. Wendall in what was described as a "moving and exciting" series of performances were Marilyn Yunich, Greg Scannell, Ray Bolyea, Cy Griffin and Louis Cook (also a former staff member of Akwesasne Notes) of WSLU Radion engineering the sound for the concert. Akwesasne's local station, CKON, had Dave Back present as performer and engineer with station manager Jake Swamp giving the welcoming address on behalf of the Mohawk people and Akwesasne Notes.

Mohawk Nation Wolf Clan Chief Jake Swamp welcomes the audience to the Notes concert. Photo: Tina Sunday

AHKWESAHSNE RONTERENNOTTHA

"AH KWE SAH SNE RON TE REN NOT THA" is the phonetic Mohawk spelling of Akwesasne Singers. Singing Societies are found in the Iroquois communities on both sides of the "border". A Singing Society is made up of more than just those who can sing. In fact, the name is misleading. It is the name for the people who are willingly to work together for the benefit of the community. There have been Singing Societies in other communities for many years. It is only recently that the young people of Akwesasne have joined together to start a Society and join the network that binds the communities together.

The responsibilities of a Singing Society include learning the traditional ways of the "Haudenosaunee' (People of the Longhouse), which include the language, the way of life, and the continuation of the ceremonies. It is important for these people to keep a clear mind and not let politics or personal feelings interfere with their working together.

Traditionally, the singing Society works for the community. Perhaps, the more important task is the volunteer work that is done by them. The elderly are taken care of with donations of time, (i.e. cleaning their homes, their yard, cutting wood) or donations of food or money if it is needed.

In the event of an emergency, the society initiates fundraising to help those who have been burned out of their homes and lost all their possessions. Funds are also raised to help with funeral expenses of a grieving family.

The more publicized event for the singing society is the Singing Convention held twice a year. The convention is hosted each time by a different Society. This is quite a responsibility, and again money is raised to defray the expenses. These people are recognized as goodwill ambassadors for their home communities and must act accordingly for they are the leaders of tomorrow.

Teresa Doxtdator-David

Siberia

A presentation to the Haudenosaunee

by Natalie Novik

SIBERIA: A PRESENTATION

Siberia is part of the Republic of Russia, itself one of the Republics of the Soviet Union. It is a continent in itself, 10 million sq. miles, populated with 22 million people of all nationalities, out of which a million and a half are Siberian "small people", i.e. native populations. The climate is very diverse, going from the Arctic Circle to the Himalayan mountains, and from the Pacific Ocean to the Urals. It is of course very cold in the North, but mild and moderate by the Ocean, and very hot in the Southern steppes. Over most of Siberia, communications are done by plane, because of the distances, but also due to the fact that few roads have been built. The Siberians drive on packed ice in the winter, and give up when it melts in the summer.

Siberia has been colonized starting in the XVIth century by the Russians, but it has never reached the level it did in America. The climate over most of Siberia did not encourage settlements, and Russians are not very eager or able to leave their own country. Even the incentives proposed in recent years by the Soviets have not produced the expected results. The news about Siberian gold reached America at the turn of this century, and, were it not for the Russian Revolution, there would certainly have been a "gold rush" similar to the Californian and Alaskan ones, as Americans and Canadians had already started to invade.

Early on, the czars used Siberia as a place of exile for dissidents, and so it has remained nowadays. But it would be wrong to see this huge land as populated only by traders and gulags. due to its incredible natural resources, discovered mostly during the Soviet period, and consisting of oil, gas, diamonds, gold uranium etc..., numerous cites have mushroomed all over the place, and represent the bulk of Siberian settlers. Young people, attracted by the high salaries, who come here to exploit gas or build a town, and leave when they want to marry or retire.

The natives have been watching the Soviet implementation with benevolence. There had been abuses from the part of the Czarist bureaucracy and traders in the past, and the Soviet system restored the traditional way of life, i.e. communal sharing of all the resources, but also brought in alphabetisation (99% literacy in the Soviet Union,), medical care, better living conditions, transportation, etc...

Lenin decided, when he created the Soviet Union, to give each nation as much autonomy as possible, and wrote in the law the respect of national traditions. As a result, native languages are at par with Russian, and native cultures are encouraged.

Most Siberian people have retained their original territories, called either Autonomous Districts, Autonomous Regions or Autonomous Republics, depending on their size and degree of self-sufficiency. For example, the Buriats have an Autonomous Republic, which is very large and provides amply for their needs, but also the Irkutsk District, which is the acknowledgement of another ancestral position, near Lake Baikal.

But we have to be careful in the use of the word "Autonomous", which could be quite misleading: it is the recognition of a land-base for these populations, but the government of each District, Region or Republic is not 100% native. It does include other nationalities, in various proportions, although the natives seem to be dominant. It is a step ahead compared with most systems, in the sense decisions are made locally, but one cannot completely exclude the influence of Moscow on the non-natives.

My impression, after meeting with a group of Siberian natives in Paris in January, is that they are proud of their cultures, they are happy to be recognized, and there does not seem to be any racial problem between them and the other nationalities. Maybe because the Soviet Union, instead of being a melting-pot, exacerbates nationalism, and Moscow is careful to let natives express their position in every field...The Yakuts, in particular, seemed very proud to have overcome starvation and unsanitary living conditions, and to continue to pass on their ancient traditions to their young scientists, doctors, physicists, pilots, teachers, herdsmen, hunters...

WESTERN SIBERIA

KHANTY—MANSY
Autonomous district
300,000 sq. miles
Population: 29,000

Belong to finno-ugrian group (like the Finns and the Hungarians). Presently located in the Ob basin, they were originally located further West and started moving 7000 years ago. They have always been *hunters and fishermen*, and as far back as 5000 BC, they knew how to make pottery.

Around 1000 BC, they came into contact with other people coming from the South, and adopted some of their ways, like the use of horses.

Their way of life remained basically the same until the turn of this century,living in wigwams made of bark, carving canoes out of one single piece of wood.

In recent times, they have also moved into the main cities that have developed in their area since the l8th century, like Tomsk and Tobolsk, or joined the new complexes of *gas extraction,* like Tiumen and Surgut. In the South, the *huge scientific centers* of Novosibirsk and Akademgorodok have encouraged the Khanty and the Mansis to acquire higher education and take part in the development of Siberia's resources. But a large part of the population is still living off traditional trades, although nowadays fishing and hunting are done on a larger scale, with the help of modern tools.

Related nations are the Selkupy and the Kety, who live approximately in the same area.

NENTSY

Disseminated over four autonomous districts: Khanty-Mansy, Arkhangelsk, Yamalo- Nenetsky, and Taimyr. The total superficy of the three last ones, where the Nentsy are more concentrated, represents 700,000 sq miles, along the shores of the Arctic Ocean. Population: 30,000.

The Nentsy (or Samoyed in earlier times) belong to the Uralian branch of the Samoyed groups. They are mostly *reindeer herders and fishermen.* Around l850, they tried to expand East to find new pastures for the reindeer, which led to war with neighbouring Entsy. The Entsy and the Nganasany have the same samoyed origins as the Nentsy. It is to be noted that the Nganasany are the Northernmost people in the world with the Greenland Inuits. In the Taimyr district also live the Dolgany, a people of mixed origins who formed only in the 18th century.

The Nentsy have developed *reindeer herding* into a giant industry, and therefore live in the tundra, next to the herds. They follow the migrations in special tents called tchums, which are like teepees made of reindeer hides. The Northern reindeer is not really tame, so if they need to catch some to harness them to their sled, they have to encircle the herd with their trained dogs (Laiki, or Siberian huskies) and lasso the ones they have chosen.

The reindeer provides everything the Nentsy need to survive, hides, meat, etc... Therefore the Soviet regime has not affected their traditions, except for the use of planes, helicopters and radios, which are welcome additions to move fast over large distances.

On the Ocean shore live the *fishermen,* who also represent a substantial part of the Nentsy population. Although they retain some traditional ways of fishing, they do it nowadays on a very industrial basis, help in their work by atomic icebreakers that keep the Northern Passage open year round. Tiksi and Narian-Mar are among the most important fishing harbours in the Soviet Union, with large canning facilities. Yamalo has also developed into a huge complex because of the neighbouring gas fields. The Nentsy and their neighbours have retained many of their traditional ways, probably because reindeer herding calls for sound methods developed only in this area over thousands of years.

But strong pressure has been exerted on them to give up their ancient shamanist religion, and although elements of it can be found in ceremonies and rituals, the deep meaning is lost to the younger generations.

CENTRAL SIBERIA

EVENY, EVENKI
Territory: Evenk Automous District, Taimyr Autonomous District (approx. 700,000 sq miles total superficy). They are also disseminated all over the Yakut Republic and all the way to the Pacific Ocean.
Total population: 40,000

Their ancestors lived further South, near Lake Baikal. They mixed with Turk, Mongol and Mandzhu populations and migrated North and East. Most of them live off *reindeer herding* in the taiga, where the reindeer finds a kind of moss called yagel. The area where they keep the herds is rather mountainous, reaching as high as 18,000 ft. in some places.

Like the Nentsy, the Evens and Evenks ride reindeer, harness them to their sleds or use them to carry packs. Their dogs are trained to take care of the herd, but are also used as team dogs.

The Evens and Evenks love meat. When they meet, instead of greeting each other, they will ask: "What did you catch?", "What did you eat?". They also live in tchums while following reindeer migrations, covering the poles with hides in the winter, and using bark in the summer.

Hunting is an important activity. The hunters live in log cabins they never lock when they leave, and anybody who stops in must leave some food, matcces, and cut wood. It is a question of survival in these surroundings. For fishing, the Evenks and Evens make canoes out of bark, for which they use oval double paddles similar to the ones used by the Inuits.

Today, life in the taiga is eased up by the link created year round between the villagers, the hunters and the herders by planes and helicopters bringing in newspapers, movies, books, mail... The herders always carry with them a portable radio station and a portable bathtub!

Krasnoyarsk is the main city, followed by smaller places like Magadan or Tura.

YAKUTS
Autonomous Republic of Yakutia, 2 million sq. miles.
Population: 840,000

A mixture of paleo-asiat and turkish groups, the Yakuts were originally located further South and were removed Northward by Mongol invasions. Their traditional way of life retains characteristics of Southern people (the horse culture) and presents also definite Northern features.

They live inside their Republic, scattered all over when they work as reindeer herders and hunters, or grouped in pockets around urban areas like Yakutsk and Mirny, two very important mining centers. The Republic is known for its **diamonds** and its **gold**, and also provides the rest of the Soviet Union with **gas and oil.**

The Yakut Republic is nicknamed "the Flying Republic", because of the intensive use made over such huge distances of planes and helicopters. Unless he has some serious reason to join the herd travelling on the trails, a Yakut shepherd will simply put his sled and dogs in the plane, fly 3,000 miles, get them off the plane and reach the herd a few miles away...

Dogs and reindeer are still widely used for local transportation, because they adapt to the terrain. The Yakut joke about reindeer is to call them "four wheelers" because they can go anywhere. The reindeer herds stay in the tundra in the winter, where they feed on moss, and move closer to the sea with the arrival of summer, because there is more grass there and also there are less mos-

quitoes (they are so fierce all over Siberia white people have to wear protection).

The Yakuts are very proud of their horse breeding. They eat horse meat as well as reindeer meat, which they know how to prepare like pemmican with berries, a little fish, and a lot of dairy products. Their sacred drink is the kumys, a fermented beverage made of mare milk, which is always served in a special cup, called a choron.

Traditionally, the Yakuts live in wooden huts called "yurts" which were the winter dwellings, and they had lighter ones for the summer. Near the yurt were several other buildings, like a stable, a barn and a special pole to tie horses. Nowadays, in Yakut villages, people live in wooden houses, with large windows and porches beautifully decorated. The yurt might still be used as a tool shack, and the horse pole is always there... Most Yakuts breed cows and horses, but also go hunting as a hobby.

The professional hunters keep the traditional outfit, so well adapted to the climate. They wear high boots, called 'unty", leggings made of wolf fur, a special top made of two layers to retain body heat, and in the winter in the north they wear a special scarf-boa, made of squirrel tails, which they keep around their nose and mouth.

Wolverine, fox, sable, wolf, squirrel, bear, lynx, moose, mountain goat are free to roam in one of the largest wild areas left on earth. Some are protected, like the wolf, some are hunted, their furs being auctionned every year at a gigantic fur fair in Leningrad, but sable and fox farms have also developed all over Siberia.

Of course, many Yakuts have chosen to live in the city, but most of them have retained the old trades. They still know they can always rely on a dog, a horse or a reindeer better than on machines to do the job in one of the harshest climates on earth. They live in permafrost country, where the thickness of frozen ground reaches an average of 1200 ft, and in the North 3000 ft. the average winter temperature on the central plateau is about 50°F, and rather regularly falls down to -60 or even -70. It is there that we find the coldest city of the Northern Hemisphere: Oimiakon, surrounded by mountains on all sides. Its name means "deep freeze"... In the North, the polar night lasts two months. The blizzards are so fierce you cannot see a few inches ahead of you. But in the summer, the temperatures rise up to 90°F, even 100°F, with no rainfall at all.

The language is kept as pure as possible, and is widely used on radio and TV, as well as in the Yakut language newspapers.

NORTHEASTERN SIBERIA

INUITS

Located in the Chukchee Autonomous District, on the Eastern shores and Wrangel Island. They are closest to the St. Lawrence Island Inuits of the Behring Straits.

Population: 1300

Their way of life is similar to that of other Inuit groups. For them, the seashore is only a place to have a house and pick berries in the summer. All their activities are centered at sea. They have adapted modern life into traditional patterns, but they also count outstanding polar pilots, seamen and even captains in the Soviet fleet.

CHUKCHEE

Territory: Chukchee Autonomous District, approx. 700,000 sq miles, North of the Kamchatka peninsula.

Population: 14,000

They are quite similar to their Southern neighbours, the Koriaks and the Itel'meny, by the language and traditions. Like them, they split into two groups: the reindeer herders inland and the fishermen on the Bering Straits.

The main difference here concerning the reindeer herds is that, first of all, they have the largest herds of the whole North. But also, they have more work than anybody else, because their dogs are team dogs, not herding dogs, and could even bite the reindeer if they came close enough. Therefore the Chukchee have to do the dog job themselves, running around the herds on foot to prevent the reindeer from running away. Moreover, their breed of reindeer is the least tame of all, half-wild, and if not watched, can turn completely wild very easily. The work is therefore exhausting. But in recent times, exchanges between small peoples of the North have developed, and the Nentsy have brought their well trained dogs to the Chukchee, they have also taught them how to build reindeer fences, and their work has been considerably eased.

The seafaring Chukchee use nowadays modern boats to go hunting for seals, walruses and whales, but they still use their traditional waterproof overalls made of sealskin. The techniques have switched from hand welded harpoons and knifes to the latest radar technology, but the Chukchee are still very close to their environment and thankful for a good hunting season.

In the old days, it would have been a social promotion for a sea Chukchee girl to marry a reindeer boy, considered to be wealthier, and the reverse did not happen very often. But the boys could "earn" their marriage, by staying with their future in-laws and help them in their work.

The Chukchee have overall retained their old trades, but they have also adapted to modern jobs such as mechanics, electricians, carpenters... The women work on fur animal breeding farms, in sewing workshops... Most doctors and teachers are women.

The artistic life of the Chukchee is very diverse: they count famous ivory carvers and sculptors, writers and musicians of reknown, and know how to make beautiful garments very much in demand in Moscow... The emphasis on the language is strong, as it is well represented in literature, on radio and TV and Chukchee newspaper. Like other Siberian natives, the children are taught their own language parallel to Russian at school, and are all perfectly bilingual. It is striking to hear Siberians talk, as they have a preference for their own language when they are between themselves, but can switch very easily to Russian to facilitate communications with other people.

KORIAKI

Territory: Koriak Autonomous District, approx. 500,000 sq miles. On Kamchatka Peninsula.

Population: 7500

See Chukchee for details.

FAR-EASTERN SIBERIA

OUL'CHI — Population: 2,600
OUDEGUEITSY — Population: 16,000
NANAI — Population: 10,500
Three nations with tungus-mandzhu origins
OROCHI — Population: 1,200
OROKI — Population: 500
Two groups of tungus origins
NIHVY — Population: 4,400
NEGUIDALTSY — Population: 500
Paleo-asian populations.

All these people live in the Amur basin, not far from the Chinese border. Over the centuries, they have been influenced by the Mandzhu and the Mongols in the South, but also by the Evenks in the North.

When they do not live in villages scattered along the Amur and Ussui rivers, they have become urban dwellers in great industrial centers such as Khabarovsk. As usual in Siberia, if there was in the past exploitation of the native populations by the merchants and the bureaucrats, there was and still is understanding and good relations between the local populations and the average Russians, probably because the Russians themselves know what it is to be considered as savages by the rest of the world...

These Siberian populations are fishermen and very proud of it. There are over 114 different species of fish in the Amur; some of these people fish at sea (the Pacific Ocean is very close) such reknowned fish as salmon, sturgeon, etc.

The climate they live in, although rather cold and windy in the winter, is considerably milder than the rest of Siberia, with temperate seasons, and a hot and humid summer (rice can be grown).

Some nations are more attracted to hunting, like the Udegueitsy. They hunt mostly for sable and fox, and have kept most of their traditional ways, including their beautiful headgear, a large white veil covering the neck and shoulders, embroided on the sides, with a small cap with a squirrel tail on top. They wear it in the summer to protect themselves against the mosquitoes and in the winter to keep warm.

Of course, nowadays, people are not always living on hunting and fishing, all trades are represented, including talented artists and writers, and reknowned scientists. But the weight of tradition is heavy and children are taught at an early age the customs and ways of their people.

SOUTHERN SIBERIA

BURIATS

Population: 353,000

Territories: Buriat Autonomous Republic and Irkutsk District, a minimum of 200,000 sq miles.

Captial: Ulan-Ude

The Buriats are a mixture of samoyed, turk, tungus and mongol, the latter being the ones to which they are more closely related.

Here is the land of infinite dry steppe, surrounded by some of the highest peaks in the world, with taiga forest on the slopes. This is where legendary Lake Baikal is located; 4000 ft above sea level, it is the deepest lake in the world, and also its largest fresh water reservoir. There are seals in the Lake as well as a very rare prehistoric fish, and the water is so clear a metal plate can still be seen 120 ft below the surface.

Needless to say, the Lake is sacred to the Buriats, who say it is the craddle for their people. They traditionally live as nomadic herders, keeping horses, sheep, cows and camels. Nowadays, this is organized Soviet-style in "kolkhoz", or community herds. The Buriats use the "yurt", a kind of round or six-sided log cabin when herding. Otherwise, when they stay in their villages, they live in Russian-style wooden houses.

Their cultural life is very active, as traditions are kept very much alive among herders. In the old days, they were bow hunters and are still among the best shooters in the world. It is one of their national pastime, together with horse riding. They wear their richly decorated costumes for colorful gatherings where they compete against each other in all the traditional sports, bow shooting, wrestling (the latter starting with a dance where the two competitors imitate a gliding eagle). Beef, mutton, horse meat are on the menu, as the berries found in the area, and all the dairy specialties of the Buriats.

In Ulan-Ude, a large, modern city, the Buriats find opera, ballet, theater, newspapers in Russian and Buriat, academic centers, etc...

TUVINTSY, TOFALARI

Respectively 166,000 and 700

National territory: Tuva Autonomous Republic, about 70,000 sq miles.

They live further West, and belong to a mixture of turk, samoyed and ket people.

These people are also traditionally nomadic herders like the Buriats, but they had a more sedentary tendency, due to the fact they cultivate cereals.

KHAKASY, SHORTSY, ALTAITSY

Altogether about 150,000 people

Their characteristics are similar to the above mentioned nations of Southern Siberia.

The Khakas are skilled blacksmiths, the Shortsy are mostly hunters and fishermen.

Typical advertising of fireworks at the Onondaga Territory along Route 11. **Photo: D. Swamp**

Gambling, Fireworks Outlawed at Onondaga

The issue of gambling, which comes in many forms, such as high stakes bingo, one armed bandits and other games of chance, along with sales of fireworks that have sprouted up in numerous native communities has met with serious concern at the Onondaga Nation. What is happening in "Indian Country" is that many money schemes aimed at making a fast buck are endangering native rights. Iroquois communities have tried to reason with these native "entrepreneurs" but have failed to reach acceptable compromises about licensing and control with the result that tensions have arisen between the businesses and the Indian governments.

In an unprecedented move the Onondaga Council of Chiefs has enacted an anti-gambling law and explosive control ordinance effective May 28, 1987. Businesses on the Onondaga Territory involved in the sale of fireworks and the use of slot machines have been notified of the Nation's decision to halt these types of activities and have until June 4, 1987 to comply with the Council's decision.

During an interview with Onondaga Chief Leon Shenandoah, he stated that the reason for the Council's decision to pass the laws was first and foremost for the "protection and safety of the children." Shenandoah noted that with the influx of various gambling ventures and the sale of fireworks it has become necessary for the Onondaga Council to set laws for the business people to follow. Chief Shenandoah said the Council has never discouraged economic development or individual business ventures on the Onondaga Territory as long as these enterprises were not detrimental to the community.

When asked what had precipated the Council's decision for enacting laws for business on Onondaga Territory Chief Shenandoah replied that there had been a growing concern voiced by the community. Complaints had been brought to the Council's attention such as in the case of the sales of fireworks. The Onondagas said they were not going to wait until a child was seriously injured before anything was done. According to Chief Shenandoah there are six places where fireworks can be purchased on the Onondaga Territory.

As to the question of what will be done to non-native people who purchase the fireworks, Chief Shenandoah replied that the Council will work cooperatively with the Onondaga County Sheriff's Department. A press release will be given to the area newspapers in order that the non-native peoples are made aware of the possibility of arrest for purchasing firework items. The law enforcement department will stop vehicles coming off the Onondaga Territory and if found to be in possession of fireworks, charges will be made against the non-native purchaser. The press conference will serve as a warning to non-natives not to purchase the fireworks items according to Chief Shenandoah.

Chief Shenandoah cited a complaint that was brought to the Council regarding the slot machines which are located in some of the business establishments. A mother had given her teenage son money to buy his sneakers, instead the boy spent the money on the slot machines, losing it all. The mother couldn't afford to lose this amount of money and her son wasn't able to get his sneakers.

"Whose responsibility is it? When is gambling ok? Does it depend on whether you win or lose? What if the boy had won, say $200.00, would the mother complain then? Would she have given permission for her son to go and play the slots and win some more?" said Chief Shenandoah. "These are the things that the Council had to consider and decide about," continued Shenandoah, "These are part of the reasons the Council passed the anti-gambling law for the Nation."

When asked how the Council was going to enforce these laws when the deadline for the native business people to comply with the law goes into effect on June 4th, 1987, Chief Shenandoah calmly answered, "We'll find out when the time comes. We'll know what to do then to close them down."

— Dianne Swamp

The American Indian and United States Citizenship

by Laurence M. Hauptman
SUNY/New Paltz

The United States Constitution mentions Native Americans three times: Article I, section 2, clause 3; Article I, section 8, clause 3; and Amendment XIV, section 2. "Indians not taxed" are excluded by both Article I and Amendment XIV from being counted in the apportionment of taxes and representatives to Congress from the states. The so-called "commerce clause" (Article I, section 8, clause 3) is the only grant of power that specifically mentions Indians: [Congress is authorized to] "regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes."

American Indian policies have also been affected by the so-called "treaty clause" of the Constitution which granted exclusive authority to the national government to enter into treaties, including the negotiating of Indian treaties. Congress enacted many laws relating to or implementing treaties. Although federal Indian treaty-making was discontinued by Congress in 1871, many Indian treaties remain in force.

Nowhere does the Constitution mention or provide for United States citizenship for American Indians. Early treaties sometimes granted citizenship to Indians, but generally required them to make a choice: become citizens and receive individual allotments of tribal lands or be removed to the West along with your Indian nation. In some treaties, United States citizenship for Indians meant the forfeiture of tribal membership, property or rights. Several Indian nations were granted blanket citizenship by statute. At other times, the awarding of United States citizenship was equated with assimilationship values, adoption of "civilized" life, western agriculture or the use of the English language. At the height of this thinking came the passage of the Dawes (General Allotment) Act of 1887 that "conferred" United States citizenship on: (1) those Indians to whom allotments were made; and (2) those who adopted the so-called "civilized" life. United States citizenship for American Indians was extended in November, 1919, to those Indians who served in the American military during World War I.

In 1924, the United States Congress passed the Citizenship Act making "all non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States" American citizens. The Act conferred citizenship upon Indians who had not already become citizens under other acts. Not all American Indians welcomed this act, remembering that citizenship had been historically tied to assimilationist policies, taxation, land loss, etc. Thus, to this day, there is diversity of Indian opinion on this historic act. Some Native Americans, as is true of Indians in Oklahoma, see themselves as dual citizens, namely citizens of their own Indian nations and also of the United States.

Yet the Iroquois of New York clearly view themselves exclusively or primarily as citizens of their Indian nations and/or citizens of the Iroquois Confederacy. Nevertheless, Indians born in the United States are United States citizens under American law and are guaranteed protection as United States citizens today under the American Constitution, a document that had never originally provided for their individual rights upon its ratification in 1788.

Plastic Medicine Men Invade Europe

Akwesasne Notes has for many years been monitoring the political and cultural activities of the European nations. We have on occasion printed articles on the Sammi people of northern Europe and also carried stories on the periodical visits to that land by Indian delegates from the native nations in America. The Mohawk Nation has authorized a number of trips to Europe as part of an effort to raise consciousness and support for the Akwesasne and Kahnawake activities such as Notes, the Freedom School and the Survival School of Kahnawake. These efforts, and similar ones by the Lakota, Hopi, Navajo-Dene and others, are legitimate functions that serve native communities. Without question, these trips serve a useful function since the Europeans have responded by working closely with the native delegates to organize opposition to the continued oppression of indigenous people world wide. Positive results have been realized by the European efforts in such areas as Big Mountain, the 1977 U.N. Conference in Geneva, the 1980 Russell Tribunal in the Netherlands and of course at Hopi, Akwesasne, Peru, Brazil amongst others.

The legitimate native delegates are instructed by their people to act with dignity while in Europe; to take the interests and concerns of the people there seriously and to be truthful about the way Indians are today. With regards to the Mohawk Nation such representatives are cautioned against emphasizing native spiritual practices at the expense of other equally important native activities. To concentrate on native spirituality is to reduce the complexity of Indian life to an unrealistic simplicity. This process of 'cartooning' Indians is ultimately detrimental to native people because it ignores often critical issues. It is in fact contributing to the perpetuation of myths that the native people have tried for many years to erase.

Notes is fortunate to having many European friends who are aware of the recent invasion of what an Austrian group calls "Plastic Medicine Men." These people, and some are women, have been making presentations and shows that are generating money for these "teachers" despite the opposition of such native organizations as the Elders Circle. The Circle makes it quite clear: Indian religion is not for sale. We are re-printing a communique from the Elders Circle so there will be no doubt whatsoever about how traditional Indian people feel about these type of 'preachers'.

The Austrian support group, Working Circle Hopi, has sent *Notes* a list of supposed medicine people who are now, or have recently been, in Europe. Most of the names enclosed are well known to us. We are printing them to inform our readers but also to urge people to ask these people questions about their fund raising activities, who they represent, what community they come from and why they are engaged in a practice that has been refuted by most native people. There are many critical issues facing Indians that need help and are in danger of being obscured by these "Plastic Medicine men."

The names: HARLEY REAGAN SWIFT DEER, know to have travelled in Switzerland along SEMU HUATE. They claim to have ties with the Shoshone Nation. They have been working with BERNHARD SCHAER, a European, who has written a book, Die Kraft Des Regenbogens, on native religion.

ADAM FORTUNATE EAGLE, who has been in Italy and Austria and reportedly was selling "holy pipes."

JEAN HUSTON and DIANE SEADANCER have been in West Germnay conducting a "mystery school" and has been in England.

SPOTTED HORSE, allegedely from the Lakota Nation has been in Switzerland.

LYNN ANDREWS, an author who has published a book on native religion titled "Ansata" and is reputed to be a student of Hyemeyeyohst Storm.

WALTRAUD FERRARI has allegedly been conducting sweatlodge ceremonies in Austria.

BETH BEURKENS, reportedly from California, is to hold classes on "vision quests" in Switzerland this summer.

SUN BEAR, an Anishnabe (Ojibway), has been in Europe. He is an extremely controversial figure amongst native people in America. Two of his supporters in Germany are WOLFGANG DAHLBERG and KARL SCHERER who conduct their own classes on Indian spirituality.

RICHARD RAWERO DEERTRACK is supposed to be Europe this fall and is a friend of Scherer.

EUGENE BLACK BEAR, allegedly Cheyenne, and HENRY TYLER, supposedly Arapaho, have been accused of charging fees for seminars on "Indian spiritual life."

HUGH GIBBS, claiming to be "principal" chief of the "Etowah Cherokee", has allegedly claimed that he has "authorization" to teach the "old way" of the Cherokee religion.

KAYENDRES claims to be a Mohawk woman shaman from Ontario, Canada and a "seer".

HAPPY HORSE has been in West Germany and Denmark. He also claims to be a "medicine man".

Notes asks our readers to write to us and let us know if they have encountered individuals marketing Indian religion. We are also printing an article written by Working Circle Hopi in Austria and urge our European friends to contact them for more information about this matter.

Some Aspects for the Discussion About Plastic - Medicinemen (and Women)

From April, 1984 to April, 1986 my colleague Eduard Gugenberger and me worked on a scientific project in connection with the University of Vienna. We investigated the current renaissance of Indian, ancient celtic and germanic culture and spirituality in the German speaking countries. Our work made it obvious, that in our time there is a workshop/seminar with plastic-medicinemen (-women) and/or their "advanced pupils" every weekend. The most significant reason for the run into plastic-seminars is the yearning for spirituality, esoteric secrets and a life in harmony with Mother Earth; a yearning, that became a strong force in our society.

MYTHS:

Our research showed, that there are two myths very popular in the plastic-medicinemen-cicles in the USA and Europe. These myths are called "spiritual wisdom" but are infact ideologies, made by some plastic-medicinemen in order to justify their commercial actions, which are in contrast to the tradtional Elders Circle.

MYTH 1: Many pupils of plastic-medicinemen believe, that they are "reincarnated Indians".

MYTH 2: Very common is a so called "Indian prophecy", that oblige Indians since 1981 to share their esoteric wisdom with white people. Therefore in the consciousness of these people plastic-medicinemen are "good", becuase they share esoteric "Indian wisdom". Traditional Indians are "bad" or have "racial hatred", because they do not share. (This is a silly, uninformed myth again.)

The apolitical danger and spiritual politics:

Plastic-medicinemen do not teach traditional Indian spirituality and ceremonies, which are in close connection to the land and the community. In most cases they teach a mixture of a New Age-Mother Earth-philsophy and elements of European occult traditions.

They teach in an apolitical framework and lead their followers - mostly young, idealistic people -away from the political struggle of traditional American Indians. Traditional Indians in most cases connect spirituality and politics and what we can learn from them is to work towards a spiritual politics, that is rooted in our own (ancient) European society and culture. So there is the following difference:

— Plastic-medicinemen: Their apolitical teachings oppose the support of traditional Indians and oppose the alternative and green political movements.

— Tradtional Indians: Many of them try to build up a solidarity movement for their oppressed nations and a solidarity betweeen them and the movements that work for the welfare of land and life. In this context spirituality is connected with the necessity of political activilty.

Strategy:

Our permanent research has shown, that the work of Indian supporters is fruit-bearing: plastic-medicinemen do not have a free and open field for their actitivites but are confronted in many ways by the Elders Circle — Statements and the work of supporters. The discussion between supporters and followers of plastic-medicinemen is published again and again in magazines of the scene.

On the other hand it became obvious, that a rational and political information-work alone is not a strong weapon against the seduction of plastic-medicinemen. We should remember the great yearning for spirituality, that is in our point of view legitimate. So it may be productive, if Indian supporters ask themselves:

— How do I deal with the great yearning for spirituality and an earth-religion? Am I able to go into a productive discussion about spirituality and earth-religion with people interested in Indian spiritualtiy?

— How do I deal with the spiritual-and Mother Earth-wisdom, that was and is published in magazines like Akwesasne Notes, Moccasine Line etc.? There is not only a political, but also a spiritual message spread by e.g. the Hopi, the Hau De No Sau Nee, Janet McCloud, Philip Deere and so on. Do I push away this issue? Or do I use it carefully to work on a wholistic spiritual way of life, that is rooted in my own (ancient) culture?

I want to confront you with a provocation-thesis, which is the result of a long and intense discussion-process we had with many people/groups: "It is the lack of spiritual work and spiritual insight of many Indian supporters that is one reason for the great success of plastic-medicinemen."

A short information from our practical work:

In 1985/86 the Working Circle Hopi-Austria could motivate many people, who belong to the apolitical esoteric/shamanic scene, to support the traditional Indians in Big Mountain. Even some prominent and influential pupils of the dangerous plastic-medicinemen Swift Deer could be gained for support-work. In this way the apolitical was confronted with political reality. It was the spiritual aspect of Big Mountain-issue that motivated apolitical esoteric/shamanic people to engage in political support activities.

So we hope that with a living concept and practice of spiritual politics we develop new and effective ways to diminish the destructive influence of plastic-medicinemen, to open the minds and hearts of apolitical esoteric/shamanic people for the message of the Elders Circle-statements and to work together with many people and groups towards a spiritual-political worldwide movement, whose aim is the protection of land and life and the support of native nations.

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Russell Means: In The Running

EDITOR'S NOTE: Russell Means, a Lakota from Pine Ridge, has been a committed, outspoken advocate for native people for a generation now. He has commanded the attention of the U.S. media by his charges that the American government has never abandoned its policies of Indian extinguishment. While many people, native and non-native, might disagree with Means' ideas and methods all must concede the fact that for most North Americans Means is **the** *Indian spokesman at this time.*

This interview, which follows the one in Notes Vol. 18, No. 6, is again conducted by Fern Malkine and concerns itself with Mean's run for the U.S. presidency. Ms. Malkine will be soon travelling to South Dakota to report on the situation of the native people there. Our thanks to Ms. Malkine and Mr. Means for this interview.

Fern Malkine: It has come to the attention of Akwesasne Notes that the Libertarian Party has asked you to run for President on their ticket. Can you give us some background on your past affiliation with them?

Russell Means: In 1980 after the International Gathering for Survival near the Black Hills, I was contacted by a member of the Montana Liberatarian Party, Larry Dodge (who in 1982 ran for the Senate in Montana, and in 1984 ran for Governor). He told me that the Montana State Libertarian Party was interested in incorporating an American Indian rights plank into their Party platform, and would I assist in the drafting of that plank. I agreed to help. It was finally drafted, submitted and accepted by the Montana State Libertarian Party in 1983. In 1985, the National Libertarian Party adopted that same rights plank.

In 1983, I met with the then leadership of the Libertarian Party, Honey Lanham of Texas; David Nolan, one of the founders of the Party; Larry Dodge from Montana, and Paul Grant who was then the national chairman of the Party. The reason for my meeting with them was because I wanted to run a slate of Indian Libertarian candidates in the State of South Dakota, primarily in 1984, to defeat a Democratic congressman, and to put the State of South Dakota on notice that the Indian people were organizing politically.

We met in Denver, and later in Watertown, South Dakota. We also met with the woman lawyer from Sisseton (S.D.) who was going to run, we hoped. But at the last minute, the State of South Dakota changed ballot access laws for third-party candidates, which made it virtually impossible for us to run any candidates in 1984. Consequently, that effort died. But I've been on the periphery of the Libertarian Party, then, since 1980.

FM: How did your current involvement with them come about?

RM: In January of this year, Honey Lanham called me up and asked me if I would consider running for the Presidency, and compete for the nomination of that position with the Libertarian Party.

After ascertaining that it was indeed Honey Lanham from Texas calling, and that she indeed wanted to speak to this radical Indian from the radical American Indian Movement, I told her that I would have to discuss it with my wife. My wife Gloria felt that it was an honor that I should consider seriously, which I did.

I eventually told Honey Lanham and Larry Dodge, 'Well, first of all I want to see if the Libertarians want me; second, if I want the Libertarians.' So we arranged to have a meeting, and to do a whirlwind tour of Texas. My opponent for the nomination is former Republican-Conservative congressman from Texas, Ron Paul.

I went to Texas with Larry Dodge, and after them picking my brains for two days, and me picking theirs, I read the entire Party platform. We toured San Antonio, Houston, Dallas and Austin. It was a very successful tour, and I became convinced that even the Libertarians from Texas (the state from which my rival was from) wanted me to run. I came to the realization, on this tour, that there isn't anything in the Libertarian platform that isn't Indian.

FM: Approximately what is the enrollment of the Libertarian Party?

RM: That fluctuates with the battles being waged in each state to get them on the ballots. But we know that in 1980's presidential election, the Libertarian Party received close to a million votes, nationwide, and the same in 1984.

FM: When you say that your tour of Texas was successful, what are you basing that on? What kinds of audiences were you addressing?

RM: By successful I mean that the turn-out and the enthusiasm was there. I was addressing Libertarians, for the most part — middle-class white Americans, some of them small businessmen, big businessmen, executives, a lot of IBM programmers, and a lot of intellectuals. In fact, I am told by the Libertarians themselves that 35-40% of the entire memberships are intellectuals/computer programmers.

I enjoyed speaking with these people because their platform is essentially Indian. The Libertarian philosophy is somewhat convoluted from our (American Indian) world view, but still, they bisect. We come from different directions and arrive at the same conclusions. At the risk of sounding like an elitest, I take the advice of my elders, the old people, who have told me that as a leader of the American Indian Movement, I have to learn to be patient with white people, because they're like children.

Understanding what that means, you have to consider that Libertarians, then, in the Indian world view, could probably be considered pre-teens. This I have stated over the radio, and I'm not afraid to repeat it here. I tell Libertarians that I am a born-again primitive, and that it is the primitive Indian who shares the same thought and philosophy that they have — the "uneducated" Indian (in terms of Industrial Society). It is the Indian who speaks broken English, if he speaks it at all; it's the Indian selling his pottery and jewelry in the plaza at Santa Fe, or weaving rugs and herding sheep, or living at Onondaga or on the Crow Reservation or right here in Porcupine, South Dakota who think as they do.

When I tell them that, a lot of the intellectuals in the Party resent it, and I can understand their resentment, because they've always thought that their philosophy came from such thinkers as Aristotle and Plato, and here I am telling them that it goes back even further, to the very primitives — the American Indians.

You cannot imagine what a joy it is to find an organized, massive movement of non-Indians who think "Indian". We in AIM have been looking for allies not only in this country, but the world over. We've looked on the left, and on the right. We've looked to the Democrats and to the Republicans. We've looked to the Catholics and to the Protestants, to the Buddhists, and to the Moslems. We've looked everywhere in modern society, and

in each instance we have found that everyone wanted us to change some of our values in order to be allied with them. In other words, we would have to become **their** Indians.

Misurasata is a prime example. The Wall St. Journal, in a front page article, stated not that Misurasata was an independent group of Indians, but that they couldn't be trusted because they have talked not only with the Sandinista's, but that they've also accepted monetary assistance from the U.S. Congress. In other words, they don't know whose side they're on. And that's the point with independent Indians. Everyone feels that unless you're left or right, you can not be trusted, because you're a primitive, and incapable of abstract thought, and incapable of any kind of planning.

I've toured 13 states already (this being mid-April), and many times in staying in Libertarians' homes...in talking with these people from all facets of life, I have found that they are comfortable people to be around. I enjoy them. No, there are what some might consider "eccentric" Libertarians (just like there are eccentric Indians, you know; there are Indians that actually live and work in Washington D.C., for example). But I find it very comfortable to run for the Presidency of the United States of America on the Libertarian ticket.

FM: In the past, you've been affiliated with individuals and groups of radically different political ideologies. Why should anyone take you any more seriously now then they could previously?

RM: The point isn't whether Russell Means is running for the Presidency of the U.S.A. It doesn't matter **who** or what **name** it is. The important thing is that it's an American Indian — it's an Indian Indian. And it's the first time that an American Indian has run for the highest office in the nation. Therefore, it is in every Indians's interest to see that that run for the highest office is not shabbily run. It is in their interest too that the 3rd largest political party in American has an American Indian rights plank, which is as follows:

"The major factors underlying the unconscionable plight of America's Indians may be summarized as follows: 1) The unresolved complexity of dual national citizenship; 2) The attrition of reservation lands and the abridgement of Indians rights to remaining properties; 3) The subjugation of individual Indians to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and tribal government authority; 4) Various federal commitments to provide the tribes with health, education and welfare benefits forever, in exchange for expropriated lands. We favor the following remedies: 1) Individual Indians should be free to select their citizenship, if any, and tribes should be allowed to choose their level of autonomy up to absolute sovereignty. 2) Indians should have their just property rights restored, including rights of easement, access, hunting and fishing. 3) The Bureau of Indian Affairs should be abolished, and tribal members allowed to decide the extent and nature of their government, if any. 4) Negotiations should be undertaken to exchange various otherwise unclaimed and unowned federal properties, for any and all remaining governmental obligations to the tribes. We further advocate holding fully libel those responsible for any and all damages that have resulted from authorization of, or engagement in, resource development on reservation lands, including damages done by careless disposal of unranium tailings, and other mineral wastes."

FM: How well-organized have the Libertarians been up until the present?

RM: The Libertarian Party, the third largest party, organized in all 50 states, has consistently run candidates for national office in every election since 1972, even though the "Demopublican" Party has made it virtually impossible to run a candidate in some states. Still the Libertarians persist, over coming each obstacle along the way. Every Indian, on the basis of the American Indian rights plank alone, should back the Libertarians. When you realize that their philosophy bisects our own, then

logic **demands** that you join them, simply in order to **survive.** And more importantly, Libertarians don't ask you to compromise your beliefs, because they believe in the rights of the individual; they recognize you as an individual human being, irrespective of your pigmentation. I love it.

FM: Has the Libertarian Party leadership spoken to you about who might be running as your vice-president?

RM: The Libertarians believe in individual choice. They wouldn't insult an individual's intelligence by suggesting that they run as a "slate". Everything is done individually. Those that want to run for vice-president will run, and they are chosen separately. There is only one announced vice-presidential candidate at this time, Andre Marrou from Alaska — a former state legislator from that state. He is a very knowledgable person in his own right, concerning Native affairs.

FM: What are some of the requirements for third-party candidates that makes it so difficult to challenge the two-party system that exists today?

RM: Here we see the perfect example of how the American political system has really become a **one**-party, monolithic system. There is virtually no choice between the Democrats and Republicans. Both increase takes, both enlarge the government, both demand more regulation in different sectors of American life, but the result is still the same. The Republicans are more economically minded and the Democrats more socially minded, allegedly. I call them "Demopublicans" because their monolithic power has come to the fore, state by state.

For example, in Florida (which I consider at the present time the state in which it is the most difficult to register as a third-party candidate), you have to gather signatures from something like 30% of the registered voters (who have **voted** in the last election, not just registered). Only one signature is allowed per sheet — it's a set form. On this sheet are various questions that each person must answer. They must fill in their social security number, what kind of work they do, who their employer is, and what their salary is. Now can you imagine stopping someone on the street and asking them to fill in all these blanks, and to sign their name, saying that they would like to see a Libertarian candidate on the ballot? Nobody wants to do all that. For my name to get on the presidential ballot in Florida, it's going to cost the Florida Libertarian Party approximately $100,000. (Just for those sheets alone you have to pay the state of Florida a dime a page.)

Each state is different. I've testified in Michigan at the State legislature against increasing the difficulty of third-party candidates' getting on the ballot. I sat in on that committee meeting, and I heard the Democrats say (and it's a Democratically controlled legislature) "Well, too many candidates will only confuse the voter." Since when does choice, begin to confuse the voter? That is an elitest's attitude. So you constantly have this kind of mentality to contend with.

FM: As things stand right now, how many states do you think you can get the required amount of signatures for, in order to be on their ballot?

RM: We are on the ballot, without question, in 21 states. Hopefully...some states allow you 6 weeks to gather 50,000 signatures; other states are more difficult. They're hoping that all 50 states, by September 1988, will carry the Libertarian Party on their ballots. They have been on all 50 states' ballots in the past, but with each election, the regulations become more difficult. Each year, state legislatures bring in bills to make it more difficult.

As I was saying before, what you really have here is a one-party system, Orivellian double-speak. This country, Demopublicans, are not giving people a real choice. If your candidate can't even make it on the ballot how can you vote your conscience? How many times have we heard it said that the voters in this country are apathetic? I say that that is propaganda — it's a smokescreen put out by the Demopublicans to cover their monolithic power of the electoral process in this country. The truth is that people don't feel that they have a real choice, so they refuse to participate. You see that on Indian Reservations, and you see it nation-wide. They are tired of having to vote for the lesser of two evils.

In order for Indian people to be free, we have to be able to gain our freedom from a free people, people who have a choice. So if **they** aren't free, then my people will never be free.

FM: What does the Libertarian Party feel about the electoral college?

RM: They want it done away with. It's archaic. It was designed for 13 colonies, to ensure that those 13 colonies would be fairly represented. We are now 50 states. That system should have been abolished by the first decade of the 19th Century. It reinforces the two-party system, ensuring the Republicans and Democrats their continued power.

FM: As you tour the country, what are you telling your audiences that the Democrats and Republicans are not?

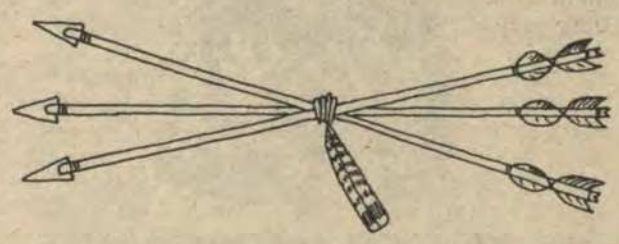
RM: Libertarians are people who believe in individual rights, and therefore, in individual responsibilities. I don't have to explain **anything** to them about everyday realities. They know, because they've made it their **responsibility** to know what affects everyone's freedom. I don't have to explain freedom to them. What I have to explain is **action**, and how to **fight** for freedom, and why I am the most qualified candidate to represent them.

I believe myself to be the most well-rounded, and the most principled, because I come from a culture of principle. Just as importantly, I tell them that educationally, in college, my major was accounting, and my minor was computer sciences. I've worked as an accountant, that I joined AIM as an executive, that I have run businesses, and that my first love, as an adult, was first history, and then economics. I believe myself to be well-rounded and well-schooled in the economics of industrial society.

I also have extensive experience in the international community. I have been invited by government officials in Africa, Europe, Eastern Europe, Asia, Central and South America (as well as North America) to be a guest in their country. Consequently, my international experience completely shadows that of my opponent for the nomination. Finally, my credentials as a freedom fighter. I have fought both the U.S. government, and the Marxist-Leninists in Nicaragua. Because the Libertarians believe in freedom, where else is it necessary for them to look, but to a man who has already established his reputation as a freedom fighter.

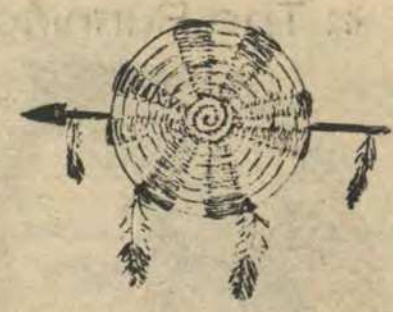
FM: Even though your audiences are in most part made up of Libertarians, are there individuals in the audience who challenge what you have to say?

RM: Most definately. They challenge my associations of the past — Farakham, Flynt, Kadafi, Arafat, the Republic of Africa, the Black Panthers; my stance on abortion...which is the same as the American Indian stance. I believe that no government has the right to enter into your family or personal life. No government. And I speak from experience, not only from this Reservation but nationally, because in the 1970's, I spoke out against the forced sterilization of our women. I went on national talk shows; I toured the college campuses, speaking out against it. But of course, America didnt' listen, so it's still going on, under the guise of "family planning."



FM: Concerning your past affiliations, what kinds of explanation do you feel you own anyone?

RM: I tell them that we're (Indians) always looking for allies, but that in the past they've always wanted me and/or AIM to compromise our values in order to build alliances. That we couldn't do. Indian people can't do that. That's why **we're** always left alone. That's why we're always struggling on our own, because we're an independent, principled people, separate from the realities of the industrial world. The Libertarians, to most people, are out-of-sight, out-of-mind because **they** believe in the individual. They do not believe in heavy governmental involvement in our lives. They do not believe in the industrial society as it stands today.



I explain to them that Larry Flynt was a good man. I saw him give away tens of thousands of dollars to blacks, to Indians, to poor whites, to evangelists, and to aethiests. He is basically a decent human being who believes he has the right to be a pornographer. He **does** have that right.

FM: How do you expect people to trust your judgement when you go from one extremist group to the next?

RM: Because I come from a culture of principle. As the principles of many of the groups I was formerly associated with turned out to be too different from my own, I am no longer affiliated with them.

FM: It would appear to some that you are using any and all platforms to make yourself heard.

RM: Until we have a nation of our own in the Western Hemisphere, every Indian is going to appear to have changing alliances. And if they speak in the wilderness, by themselves, then they're not heard, are they. I have been affiliated with the leftists, by the way, who are the **grossest** group that I've ever been associated with. You talk about Farakhan and Flynt, and all these other relatively harmless people ... people who have principles and are fighting for them.

Now, you want to talk about the leftists? My assoication with **them** is what I should be condemned for. I should be condemned for hanging around with Democrats, and Roman Catholics. **They're** the ones murdering and slaughtering our people up and down this hemisphere. And yet people are condemning me for hanging around with Moonies. Has a Moonie ever killed an Indian? No. But you look at Guatamala, at Nicaragua, and it's **Roman Catholics** killing and bombing and napalming Indian people, and that goes for Bolivia and Brazil as well. I've actually hung around with Roman Catholics!

FM: How do you separate the Libertarian Party from what you describe as the Left?

RM: The Libertarian Party is, first and foremost, for the individual. There isn't anyone else, now, championing the individual, except the Indians and the Libertarians. The Libertarians have been labeled as being economically conservative-republican, and socially, liberal-democrats. They belive in the decriminalization of victimless crimes in order to empty our prisons, and to get people back into the economic system; they believe in free trade, open borders. They do not believe in being a part of the United Nations, nor in economic or foreign or military aid to other nations. They do not believe in intervention.

FM: Why don't they want the U.S. to be affiliated with the United Nations?

RM: Because they don't believe that thats the function of a national government. The function of a national government should be to protect the citizens from fraud and violence, and that's all.

I deal with reality, both as an Ameican Indian and as a Libertarian. I'm not closeted in some ivory tower with a bunch of other intellectuals. What I am involved with, is trying to find a way a just society can be recreated in the image of what the American Indian is all about — that's free trade, and respect for the individual.

FM: As a presidential candidate, if elected, you would **have** to deal with all kinds of world involvement. With your belief in non-intervention, wouldn't that raise some serious problems for you?

RM: Let's take a contemporary debate. Japan, Germany, trade wars. The Democrats in this country want to put restrictions and regulations and embargoes, and duties and taxes on all kinds of

foreign businesses. They're saying that Japan doesn't trade fairly, because they subsidize their industries — that there's an unfair trade practice there. Well, all the United States has to do, is to withdraw its economic and military aid to Japan, leaving the Japanese to finance the defense of their **own** people. That's a responsibility of that government. They would then be forced to draw on their own reserves to defend their people. They could no longer afford to subsidize their industries as heavily as they do now, which leads to unfair trade practices, in the eyes of the Democrats, and some Republicans. It would create a climate of fair trade. Japan would have to compete with companies from other countries on an equal footing, unsubsidized.

Lets look at the Middle East, at South Africa, Nicaragua and Cuba. Look at the hypocrisy of this nation. They're opening the trade doors to the (communist) Soviet Union and China. But in Nicaragua and Cuba, in our own back yard, where Marxist-Leninism is becoming entrenched, they have welded the door shut, thereby encouraging Narxist-Leninism to flourish, in fact **forcing** it upon the people, giving them no choice. They should open the trade door and not interfere. Those people want Coca-Cola and VCR's, believe me. I've been down there.

Marxist-Leninism cannot withstand the free market. It may not be **the** solution, but what I'm saying is that hypocrisy is what this government is all about. If it's working with China and the Soviet Union, then why punish these little countries? And they're in our back yard! Those other countries are half a world away. It's the logic of self-defeat.

Domestically. The Congress is now considering completely opening the border with Canada, while they've just slammed the door shut on Mexico. That's hypocrisy. We have a richer economy than Canada. Our money is worth more. We're not afraid of a flood of Canadians entering into the U.S., in fact we welcome it. Yet which country has the most oil (and could help our economy the most), for crying out loud? It's Mexico. Why close the door on **them**? This country, in its inherent racism, has always shut the door to Latin America.

It doesn't make sense. You have to open the doors to trade, so that your economies can become interdependent, so that you don't have to have any **fear**. Why don't we merge the oil industries? This country doesn't want to because the oil companies here are subsidized by the government. All government regulation is there to protect the multinational corporations, the banks, etc.

Let's look at the government organizations — the IRS, FBI, INS, DEA, BIA, and the CIA. All of these groups seem to be exempt form having to adhere to the Bill of Rights, because of our supposed need for secrecy in government. Why should you have a government that keeps screts from its people? That's not a just, or democratic, or free republic. That's not a free and just society. You should have nothing to hide from your people. If you take secrecy out of government, you will not have the graft and corruption you have in the international Iran-Contra affair, or domestically like you had in Watergate.

Another reason why I'm enjoying this Libertarian fight is because I come from a federal Indian Reservation which is under totalitarian rule. They rule every aspect of your life, and your land. And I can see that this over-regulation, this bigger government is creating one great big federal reservation, country-wide. It's communistic, totalitarian.

FM: If elected, how would you change what is happening on the Reservation?

RM: I would abolish the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and would follow the Libertarian Indian rights plank, that all treaties have to be lived up to, and all land that rightfully belong to Indians be returned. We're talking about 2 to 3 hundred million acres to return to Indian people — a lot of exappropriated land that was illegally open to homesteading under Theodore Roosevelt, land swindles (broken treaties). There are many things that have to be taken into consideration.

FM: What would Indians' representation be in the federal government?

RM: Their own, if they want it. American people have the right to fail or succeed. We do not have that right, because we're under totalitarian rule. We're 'wards' of a government. We should be allowed to sink or swim on our own.

We Indian people know all about totalitarian, secret government. It's called the Bureau of Indian Affairs. We've known them to be enormously corrupt since their inception in 1824. It's been proven time and time again, administration after administration. Any government that operates in secret is going to be a corrupt government.

FM: As the first Native American to run for President, what is it that you're hoping the Indian youth of today will see by it?

RM: It's the primary reason I'm running — for Indian children and non-Indian children. Just prior to my going to Texas, I spoke here on the (Pine Ridge) Reservation to some elementary students. I wore boots, slacks, a seminole coat, earrings, Indian jewelry and braids. The children asked me why I dressed the way I did. I explained to them that it's okay to be Indian and to **look** Indian in today's world. You **can** function in today's world being an Indian. You don't have to be an imitation of anything or anyone. An imitation is a cheap product imitating the original. Indians have no reason to be imitating anything. That is what they must be taught. We are a proud people that come from a culture of principle.

Later, when I was in Texas, meeting with the Libertarians, I thought about those children. I thought 'Well, when I'm in the presidential debates, when I'm speaking to the press or on TV, those children will see an Indian in braids, Indian and non-Indian children alike. Having been in Nicaragua, and living on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, I undertand that we are seen as an expendable people. I have seen, all across this country, how my running fills Indian children — both in urban and rural communities — with pride and self-dignity. We saw what happened with Jesse Jackson and the black people in 1984. I'm an Indian who looks like an Indian, running for President. That's what those children know. They don't know who Russell Means is. They don't know what AIM is. All they see is an Indian. And that's what is so important, to show that whether we live in the jungles of Nicaragua or on the plains of Pine Ridge, that we are equal to all men, and that our children will see that they have a chance.'

END

The Situation of Children in Guatemala

A child dies every 15 minutes due to malnutrition.

80% of the child population, particularly in rural areas, do not receive professional medical attention.

100,000 children suffer from eye defects and diseases owing to a lack of vitiman A. 200,000 cases of malaria were reported in 1986, in comparison with 10,000 cases registered in 1985.

75% of those children attending school, do so without breakfast.

The same number do not have money to buy school items and another 15% only manage to buy them with great difficulty.

NCAI Denounces Anti-Indian Violence—Calls on U.S. and Wisconsin Officials to Investigate Hate Groups

Washington, D.C., 4/28/87 — In the wake of April 26 violence against Indian treaty fishers at Lake Butternut, Wisconsin, the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) has called on the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Justice Department to "investigate, expose and stop the activities or organized anti-Indian hate groups which have contributed to the climate of racism, violence and circumvention of federally-guaranteed treaty rights."

In letters to federal and state officials, NCAI Executive Director Suzan Shown Harjo also called for "vigilant law enforcement efforts to assure that Lac du Flambeau and other Chippewa citizens can, at long last, exercise their lawful rights in orderly fashion, without fear of continued threats and violence." Harjo denounced the "racist atmosphere" encouraged by an anti-Indian group, Protect American's Rights and Resources (PARR), whose leader was part of the rock-throwing mob of some 400 who attacked four boats of 12 Lac du Flambeau spearers and some 15 other tribal people on the landing, injuring many, incldуing an elderly woman who was dragged from a truck and thrown to the ground.

The Lac du Flambeau spearers - as well as the Lac Courte Oreilles, Bad River, Red Cliff, Mole Lake and St. Croix Bands of Chippewa Indians - are guaranteed rights to take walleye, pike and other fish under the Treaties of 1837 and 1842 between the U.S. and the Lake Superior Chippewa. The treaty fishing rights were affirmed by the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals in Janaury of 1983 and by the Federal District Court for the Western District of Wisconsin in March of 1987.

Symbols of the opposition to the Indian treaty rights in Wisconsin are the popular bumper stickers, "Save a Walleye/Spear an Indian," and baseball caps with "Spear This" underneath a barrel of a handgun. These anti-Indian items mimic those of the 1970s in Washington, Idaho and Oregon during the height of the backlash to federal affirmation of treaty fishing rights. Anti-Indian groups organized at that time-such as S/SPAWN in Washington, which was associated with a bumper sticker, "Save a Salmon/Spear an Indian" - have come under the umbrella of PARR, along with Totally Equal Americans and Equal Rights for Everyone, which many Indian people believe are associated with the bumper sticker, "Save a Deer/Shoot an Indian," symbolizing the backlash against another reecent decision in the U.S. Supreme Court unholding treaty hunting rights in the Great Lakes area.

In a PARR meeting earlier this year in Wisconsin, 500 participants complained about Indian situations in their home states and organized to attempt to convince Congress to end Indian treaty rights. A common thread connecting their complaints about Indian fishing and hunting rights in the Northwest and Great Lakes areas, land claims in the East, water and jurisdiction rights in the Southwest and Mid-West was a claim that Indians are "super citizens." This claim was raised by the State of Washington in opposing Indian treaty fishing rights and was dismissed by the Supreme Court in 1979. Courts have held consistently that the treaty rights of Indian nations and people do not interfere with the constitutionally-protected rights of non-Indians.

In her letters to federal and state officials, Harjo recalled the comment of 9th Circuit Judge Alfred T. Goodwin in a 1978 ruling regarding the Northwest fishing issue: "Except for some desegragation cases, the District Court has faced the most concerted official and private efforts to frustrate a decree of a federal court witnessed in this century." "In Wisconsin," said Harjo, "we have a situation of like proportion in its private challenge to Indian rights, one which cries out for responsible and vigorous action on a tri-partite level among the federal, tribal and state authorities. PARR and other anti-Indian groups have no place in the process to seek appropriate remedies." Harjo also joined Lac de Flambeau Tribal Chairman Mike Allen in commending the Lake Superior Police for their protection of Indian people against the mob at Butternut Lake, and called on local law enforcement officials to provide similar protection for other treaty fishers and their families.

For additional information, contact Lac du Flambeau Tribal Chairman Mike Allen at (715) 588-3306, or NCAI at (202) 546-9404.

Great Lakes: Too Much Of A Good Thing

Sometimes too much water is just as bad as not enough.

The Great Lakes, which comprise 95 percent of the United States' fresh surface water, are now bursting their banks with record high water levels.

Because of above-average precipitation for 13 of the last 16 years, the five Great Lakes now range between 1 and 3 feet higher than normal—approximately a 44 trillion gallon excess. That's enough to cover the continental U.S. with nearly three quarters of an inch of water!

These high waters are eroding beaches, undermining cliffs, destroying crops, flooding sewage treatment plants and hazardous waste sites, lapping at the foundations of Chicago's lakefront high rises, and threatening hundreds of thousands of other homes lining the Great Lakes.

The damage is costing taxpayers and property owners hundreds of millions of dollars.

In order to find a solution to this serious problem. Representative Henry Nowak (D-NY), who is chairman of the House Public Works' Water Resources Subcommittee, held a hearing on March 17.

Testifying at the hearing were officials from Federal agencies, state and local governments, and environmental organizations, including Sharon Newsome, National Wildlife Federation's Director Legislative Affairs.

One proposed solution advocated by homewoners and the Chicago Sanitary District is Prespresentative James Sensenbrenner's (R-WI) bill—H.R. 247—which would roughly triple the amount of water currently being diverted out of Lake Michigan at Chicago.

Unfortunately, this "Chicago Diversion" would only lower lake levels a few inches over a period of 15 years and could cause adverse consequences—including a struggle for control of diverted water and damage to wetlands and fishing in drought years.

As a result, H.R. 247 is strongly opposed by the Federation.

Another solution was proposed by Ohio Governor Richard Celeste, chairman of the Council of Great Lakes Governors. It is a five-year, $100 million program of low-interst loans and grants for floodproofing, relocation, and acquisition of flood-threatened buildings and properties, plus construction of shoreline protection devices.

Although the Federation believes property threatened by flood waters should be acquired and relocated, we strongly oppose seawalls, breakwaters, groins, and other structural stabilization devices, except in high density urban areas like Chicago.

We believe such devices are very expensive, only temporarily effective, and cause environmental damage by increasing erosion.

In her testimony, Sharon Newsome underlined that "what we need to realize...is that if there had been no near shore development of the Great Lakes, rising water levels would not be causing a problem...when the homes and buildings are constructed along the shoreline, a high water level suddenly brings with it the need to protect these structures from what was once relatively harmless flooding and erosion."

As a result, she said the answer to this problem lies in limiting future development of flood and erosion prone areas. We also need to provide shoreline owners with money for home relocation and planting protective vegetation.

The Federation believes that any solution to the Great Lakes water level problem must contain the following provisions:

* a moratorium on Federal expenditures along the Great Lakes shoreline until long-term plans and location requirements have been established;
* establishment of locational setback lines (the distance from the water that buildings may be constructed) at 60 or more times the average annual rate of erosion;
* inclusion of appropriate areas along the Great Lakes shoreline in the Coastal Barrier Resources System;
* a prohibition on flood insurance for all new or substantially improved development in the high hazard area adjacent to the water.

From NWF Conservation 87

Prof. Quits Glenbow Committee

CALGARY — Anthropology professor Joan Ryan has resigned from a Glenbow Museum committee to protest the museum's stand against a boycott of the 1988 Winter Olympics by the Lubicon Indians.

Ryan, who teaches at the University of Calgary, says she is outraged at Glenbow director Duncan Cameron's efforts through Canadian diplomatic channels to persuade foreign governments to loan artifacts for a native exhibition during the Games.

She said she did not want to participate in a "group which furthers it own interests by adding to the oppression of minorities."

Reprinted from THE EDMONTON JOURNAL, Sunday, November 16, 1986

Smithsonian Will Ignore Boycott

By Wendy Smith (Herald staff writer)

One of the United States' most prestigious cultural institutions has turned down the Lubicon Lake Indian band's call for a boycott of the Glenbow Museum's special exhibition during the 1988 Winter Olympics.

Senior officials of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. decided Monday to lend about 20 of its rare native cultural objects to the Glenbow despite the sympathy of museum staff towards the Lubicons, spokesman Madeleine Jacobs said in a telephone interview from Washington.

"We have a lot of curators that are very sympathetic to the Lubicons but the final decision was made that we really could not deny this request," Jacobs said.

The Glenbow display, regarded as the flagship of the OCO'88 arts festival, depends on museums around the world lending it 500 of the rarest existing Indian and Inuit artifacts dating back to the 1700s.

Lubicon chief Bernard Ominayak, in Europe for a two-week six-nation tour to promote the Games boycott, could not be reached for comment Monday.

However, he has said in the past that is it hypocritical for the arts festival to glorify the proud cultural past of Indians when the provincial and petroleum interests organizing and benefiting from the Winter Games are the same groups committing cultural genocide against the Lubicon people.

Smithsonian curators were concerned about future relationships with North American Indians if the museum did not support the northern Alberta band's land claim struggle with the federal and provincial governments, Jacobs said.

"But we felt after reviewing the request. . .that it was a legitimate request from a legitimate museum for a legitimate exhibition and we could not deny the loan on the basis of political considerations," she said.

Honoring the Lubicon boycott would set a dangerous precedent of political involvement by the Smithsonian, which is an agency of the U.S. federal government, she said.

Despite that decision, the Glenbow will not actually be loaned all of the 40 objects it has requested because half of them are considered too fragile to travel, Jacobs said.

The Smithsonian agreed to lend the other 20 after a guarantee from Glenbow director Duncan Cameron "that all and every security measure would be taken to ensure the safety of these objects," she said.

Cameron refused to comment Monday.

Meanwhile, museums in New York City and Berlin last month refused to lend artifacts to the Glenbow after requests from several national and international aboriginal gorups asked them to support the Lubicon's boycott.

The Museum fur Volkerkund of Berline turned down the Glenbow's request for 10 objects. The Museum of the American Indian of New York City refused to send 86 objects.

Source: CALGARY HERALD, Tues., Nov. 4, 1986

Lubicon Lake Band Boycotts The Glenbow

CALGARY — The 450 members of the Lubicon Lake Indian band are currently stepping up their 47-year campaign for settlement of aboriginal land claims. Their land claims relate to four specific areas:

* The band has filed claim before the provincial and federal courts on a legally active aboriginal title to 8,500 sq. miles of resource-rich land in northern Alberta.
* Its particular concern is with an area of 4,200 sq. miles which contains burial sites and trap lines.
* The band has indicated that it will forego the larger claims in exchange for a 90 sq. mile section of reserve plus other benefits.
* The Province of Alberta has agreed to honour the band's jurisdiction over only 25.4 sq. miles of the total claim which the provincial government offered to the band as a reserve last winter.

One strategy being used in its attempt to bring the issue before the international community is the call for a boycott on an exhibition of Indian and Inuit artifacts which is currently being organized by the Glenbow Museum as part of Calgary's Olympic Arts Festival to be held in February, 1988.

University of Calgary Anthropology professor Joan Ryan recently resigned from the Glenbow Museum's program committee as a result of Glenbow Director Duncan Cameron's use of diplomatic channels to discredit the Lubicon cause. Ryan refuses to be associated with a group "which furthers its own interests by adding to the oppression of minorities."

Cameron, while expressing sympathy for the Lubicon claims, said the Glenbow could not become politically involved in the issue. What Cameron actually did was take specific political action against the Lubicon by contacting Brian Watson of the Arts Promotion Division in External Affairs.

Watson responded by involving Canadian diplomats in several countries in a campaign to undermine the boycott.

Cameron also claimed "enthusiastic support" from native groups and has consistently tried to discredit letters of support for the boycott as not being representative of native opinion.

In fact, the boycott is supported by the Assembly of First Nations, the World Council of Indigenous People, the National Congress of American Indians, the Metis Association of Alberta and the Grand Council of Crees in Quebec.

In spite of Cameron's efforts, approximately a dozen museums of international standing (but not the Smithsonian) have respected the boycott and declined to lend pieces to the Glenbow.

The band is also considering calling a boycott against the Olympic Games themselves and does not discount the possibility of armed struggle, should their claims not be addressed to their satisfaction.

This January the band evicted a seismic crew who "snuck in" through the Northeast corner of the disputed 90 sq. mile area.

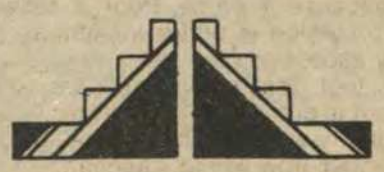
"We are prepared to do whatever it takes to protect our land," says Chief Bernard Ominayak.

The band, in its suit for settlement of its outstanding land claim, is fighting to preserve the integrity of a trap line economy along with its cultural history and traditions. If it loses in the face of continued insensitive resource development, the band faces no other option but total disintergration.

Six years ago 120 moose were killed by the band in the surrounding forests to feed its members. In the winter of 1984 only three were taken.

Currently upwards of a million dollars a day are being pumped out of the area while poverty, welfare and the complete destruction of a traditional way of life are threatening these proud and independent Cree.

By Brian Dyson from FUSE, April 1987, No. 44



Ethnic Consciousness is Crucial for Survival of Indian Peoples, Visiting Anthropologist Says

STANFORD — In a small mountain village near Oaxaca, Mexico, a group of 18 indigenous women with no previous history of employment is learning to weave silk. Their teacher, an 82-year-old grandmother, is the last repository of skills that sustained a thriving silk trade in the area during colonial times.

While their activity is in some sense a throwback to the past, it is also a step into the future, complete with a hot village debate over the rights and status of women.

"Tradition and change are not mutually exclusive," says Stefano Varese, a visiting Peruvian anthropologist at Stanford and former director of the Regional Unit for the People's Culture in Oaxaca.

In fact, the revival of those cultural expressions that relate to "ethnic identity" can be the key to building the strength and autonomy of indigenous peoples within a dominant white society, he says.

"Mexican development is currently in the hands of technocrats and urban intellectuals who lack awareness of the vast knowledge held by indigenous civilizations," Varesa says.

"While agribusiness for export flourishes in some areas, the government's neglect of the rural sector shows their lack of faith in what the Indian peasant can do, and in his potential to organize for production."

Further diminishing this potentials is the fact that "the Indian himself has grown very timid, very insecure in his own knowledge and culture, and has a tendency to devalue what he knows," Varese says.

Through the activities of the silk-weaving collective in Oaxaca, and other new projects much like it, indigenous peoples have reclaimed both pride in their skills and the power to produce income by them.

Perhaps most important of all, he says, these activities have built an understanding of their history of cultural and economic oppression and a new sense of their place in the future of Mexico.

The replication of this process, which Varese calls, "culturally appropriate development," could be the vital importance to the estimated 9 million indigenous peoples of Mexico and another 21 million natives throughout Latin America. It has been the focus fo the Italian-born anthropologist for some 20 years in Peru and in Mexico.

Varese was recently named a 1987-88 Ford Foundation fellow at the Stanford Humanities Center, where he will complete a book tentatively entitled *The State and the Village*.

The book is to be a study of the ethnicity of the Zapotec Indians — one of the group involved in the appropriate development project — in relation to the various states and political structures under which they have lived from around 500 B.C. to the present.

According to official statistics, the Zapotec ethnic group is one of the largest and oldest Indian groups in Mexico. Large colonies of Zapotecs live in Los Angeles and Mexico Cty, Varese said. Most of them return to traditional farming in their native village after acquiring a small amount of capital.

In two countries he taught last semester as a Tinker visiting professor in Staford's Department of Anthropology and at the Center for Latin American Studies, "Indigenous Movements in Latin America" and "The Ethnopolitics of Community Development," Varese describes the process by which he discovered the critical importance of "ethnic awareness" and consciousness in community development.

In 1981, Varese and a multidisciplinary team of colleagues were commissioned by the Mexican government to conduct an unusual study of social attitudes among the indigenous peoples of the Sierra Juarez.

From this survey, Varese identified what he called an "ethnically uncompromising nucleus" of about one-quarter of the population. He described them as "loyal to their culture and language, and impervious to the attraction and ideological and cultural penetration of the school system." Their most outstanding characteristics were their "ethnic pride" and "militancy" in maintaining the values of Indian culture, he said.

Interestingly, the most "militant" defenders of the culture were not always the elders nor even the traditionalists. Many were found among young people who had left the village, travelled, to the city or to the United States, and returned confirmed in their belief in the value of indigenous ways for indigenous people, he said.

In an article subsequently published in the *International Social Science Journal* (UNESCO, 1985), Varese stated his belief that such an "uncompromising nucleus" could be found in "all ethnic groups which have survived deliberate or biological genocide, and that this same nucleus is responsible for the group's continued existence."

Varese discovered that the leaders who arose from this nucleus were in some sense the "organic intellectuals," those whose critical awareness of their own culture in relation to the broader social system would enable them to stimulate a more active ethnic consciousness in the community.

Varese set out to find and support these "organic intellectuals" of Zapotec life who could rescue the culture from external aggression and impending oblivion.

Unions and ethnopolitical organizations from about 25 communities were asked to name individuals with leadership qualities as candidates for an eight-month course.

The experimental course was to bring the candidates together with a 12-member team of anthropologists, linquists, biologists, musicologists, educators, theater professionals, and others, in order to "discover" and affirm the positive values of native culture. The candidates were to return to their communities as "cultural promotors," a position paid on the level of school teachers by the Mexican federal government.

"Our principal aim was to restore to the participants a sense of security and confidence in their own systems of thought and knowledge and ways of looking at the world, in their language and history, in the land, in their form of organization, and in their place in the larger regional/national framework," Varese says.

"The course was designed to train peole to *think* about culture rather than to copy it; to produce militants and activists, rather than scientists."

Inevitably, the first workshop experienced a crisis only a month into the project, when the candidates discovered that they were being asked to think, to speak, in effect to produce the course material out of their own experience and existing knowledge.

"We came here to learn, and you are asking *us* questions?" they asked the research team.

"Indeed, we were," says Varese. "We were asking them to teach us so they could learn."

Varese cites the Zapotecs use of more than 2,000 local plants for medicinal and other purposes, and their ecological awareness, which allowed them to sustain agriculture in the same area for generation after generation, as examples of things which "they didn't realize they knew."

"The incredible knowledge utilized by these people gets lost almost as soon as a monoculture like coffee is imposed on the community out of immediate economic need," Varese says. "This knowledge is lost within a generation or two if is not used. Then not only the environment, but the culture too will be depleted. There must be, there is a possibility of combining the modern needs for production with indigenous knowledge.

"The role of the anthropologist is to discover what a people knows and contribute it to the development process."

But the new cultural promotors faced further problems when they tried to interact with their communities.

"As rural people see it, intellectual activity is not productive work," Varese said.

However, those members of the community who had traditionally been involved in cultural production — dance, music, poetry, basket weaving, mask and costume making — were quick to understand that the impoverishment suffered by their communities affected these areas first of all. Musical groups were disbanded, dance troupes ceased to perform.

"The most obvious external signs of ethnic identity are the first to be lost as a result of poverty," Varese noted. "And when those external signs cease to exist, the mirrors in which the group finds its identity, recognizes and asserts itself, also disappear."

Because the cultural promoters were able to make them aware of this fact, most of the community supported or suggested new projects enthusiastically. Enterprises such as the silk-weaving workshop were seen as economically productive as well, and it was through such collective activities that ethnic consciousness was fostered. As bread baking, fish raising, carpentry, and irrigation projects followed one upon another, the less predictable and perhaps less measurable products were historical, political, and even linquistic awareness.

Such changes inevitably brought conflicts, too, Varese says. For example, the ability of the silk weavers to earn even a small income of their own brought about a major shift in the balance of power between men and women in the village.

"I don't believe that just because something is an entrenched cultural pattern, that it is necessarily sacred. Certain values can be presented and discussed collectively, whatever the consequences, if, for example, one group within a culture is oppressing another, that is not good; change is."

Minneapolis Responds to Serial Murders

by Steve Compton

Several hundred Phillips community residents marched up 11th Avenue Thursday night to Trinity First Lutheran Church in a demonstration of neighborhood solidarity in the face of a series of brutal murders of young American Indian women. The march went past Mr. Arthur's Bar where at least one of the murder victims was last seen alive. Mr. Arthur's and the Corral Bar both closed for two hours during the meeting.

The march culminated in a rally in the Church parking lot where angry neighborhood residents demanded better police protection and immediate community action to protect Indian women. All segments of the community were urged to put aside their differences and work together to prevent further tragedy. A prayer was offered by Indian Spiritual Leader Amos Owens and the marchers filed into the Church basement for a meeting to plan community action.

THE VICTIMS

The first of the recent victims was Angeline Whitebird, whose body was found in the grassy area east of the Minneapolis American Indian Center. Ms. Whitebird had come to Minneapolis six weeks before from Ashland, Wisconsin and was staying with her uncle who lived on Bloomington Ave. She was a 26 year old Ojibwe (Chippewa) woman who grew up on the Bad River Reservation near Ashland. Ms. Whitebird's ex-husband, whose last name is Sweet, recently returned to the reservation from Alaska to take the couple's three children to Alaska with him.

On Wednesday, April 29 tragedy struck again when another young Indian woman, Angela Kay Green's body was found in the brush beside the 29th Street railroad tracks near Park Ave. Ms. Green was 21 years old and lived at 1911 Park Ave. S. She is survived by two small children, 2 year old Patrick and 8 month old Daisy, and her mother Kathryn Robinson and stepfather Eugene.

Ms. Green had been raped five months earler and according to her mother had become depressed since then. "She was never the same after that happened." said Ms. Robinson.

At the community meeting Thursday night Eugene Robinson, an employee of the Indian Center, said, "I know that this man is still in this area and I know he will strike again and again."

Mr. Robinson said that the Indian Center received a letter on February 14 from an anonymous man who vowed to "kill every Indian woman I see." Robinson said the letter was shown to police, who at the time didn't think it was important.

POLICE RESPONSE

The brutal murder of the two young women within two weeks has finally convinced the police that the threat to Indian women in the area is serious. They have put out a warning against a serial killer they believe is stalking women on Franklin Avenue. The police have set up a special six-man unit to investigate the murders. Police said the entire Homicide Divisions working full time on the latest slayings. The police have asked the FBI to develop a psychological profile of the killer and police are sorting through over 300 leads in the case.

The police now believe that these two murders along with the killing of Kathleen K. Bullman on July 27, 1986, are the acts of a serial killer. At a press conference on April 29 Police Captain Jack McCarthy explained why.

* The victims were young American Indian women who lived near or frequented the Franklin Ave. area.
* They were all raped, strangled, brutally beaten and mutilated, and their nude or semi-nude bodies left in isolated areas.
* Bullman and Whitebird had both been drinking in Franklin Avenue bars shortly before they were found dead and had high blood/alcohol levels.

In addition, Police Captain Jack McCarthly said that the carefully posed positions of each of the bodies have led police to conclude the killer is baiting police.

"This killer is making some kind of statement," said McCarthy. "He is deliberately setting this up and saying, 'Catch me if you can.'"

Police Chief Tony Bouza called the murderer a "vicious, woman-hating individual. He is acting out some sick agenda."

The police are also investigating a fourth murder for possible connection to the other three. Sharon Lingor died on September 6, 1986, of stab wounds after being sexually assaulted on the same railroad tracks two blocks from where Angela Green's body was found.

Police are urging anyone with any information about these murders to call the Homicide Division at 348-2941.

STRING OF UNSOLVED CASES

The latest killings have renewed community demands for greater police investigation of murders in the Indian community. American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders have been calling for more police attention since they held a Human Rights Conference last December in the Indian Center. Testimony and information collected at that conference revealed that nine Indian homicides occurred in Minneapolis in 1986. Four of those cases are still unsolved and three of the unsolved cases were young women who were sexually assaulted in 1986. AIM leader Bill Means said last wek, We were asking for more investigation last December. It is really a shame that it took one more life to convince the police to take a look at this situation."

At the December Human Rights Conference, Indian leaders raised the possibility that some of the killings were linked. Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement asked then why the police and media focus so much attention on cases where one middle class white woman like Morna Jean Brennan is murdered and so little on the killings of a whole series of Indian women. "If those had been white girls the media would have been on the story every day until the killer was caught," Bellecourt said.

In November 1986 a group of American Indian Movement activists reorganized the AIM Patrol, a citizens' patrol originally formed by AIM in 1968 to combat police brutality in the Indian community.

WOMEN VULNERABLE ON FRANKLIN

The woman killed by the Indian Center, Angeline Whitebird spent her last night drinking in a Franklin Avenue bar and was reportedly seen walking down the Avenue with a unidentified man after bars closed.

AIM Patrol member Helen Taylor said she is very afraid for women on the Avenue. Helen had met Angeline Whitebird shortly before her death. "Angie was too friendly, overly friendly." said Taylor. "The last time I saw her she had just come back for the blood bank on Friday before she was killed. We spent some time together in a bar that night. I wish I had seen her the next night, maybe this wouldn't have happened."

"There are a lot of us single women out here in the community and on the Avenue and we're very vulnerable," said Taylor, "it could have been any of us."

Taylor said the AIM Patrol believes that men from outside the area are cruising Franklin Avenue as a place to pick up drunken women leaving the bars. Taylor aid the AIM Patrol follows suspicious looking cars, record licensing numbers, and advises the drivers to leave the area. They also drive single women home when they find them on the streets alone.

Taylor said that she too has been approached by men while she was out on patrol. "I just walk over to their car window, introduce myself, tell them I'm with the American Indian Movement Patrol, that we have recorded their license plate number and will be turning it over to the Police Homicide Division. They leave pretty fast after that."

RAPES AND SEXUAL ASSAULTS

In the week following Angeline Whitebird's murder the Phillips Neighborhood Improvement Association (PNIA) circulated a flyer claiming there had been seven unreported rapes in the area in the last three weeks. While unreported crimes are hard to verify, the police did have records of eight reported sexual assaults in Phillips since the beginning of March. The descriptions of the suspects and their methods did not reveal any identifiable pattern or any obvious connection to the murders. Only one of the eight victims was a Native American woman.

COMMUNITY RESPONSE

The Angeline Whitebird murder and rumors of the reported and unreported sexual assaults had already raised a great deal of community concern and fear when the second victim was found. After the police used the label 'serial murders,' the community response was universal grief and outrage.

On the evening of the Angela Green murder, as the media descended on the neighborhood, a community meeting was hastily called in front of a private home on 11th Avenue. There, neighborhood residents and leaders vented their frustration and concern and vowed to take action to stop the murders.

At that meeting Bill Means of AIM stated that 35% of unsolved murders in the City have involved Indian victims, while Indians make up only 2% of the City population. He urged neighborhood residents to ban together to look out for each other. Means also asked for more volunteers for the AIM Patrol.

Helen Taylor also said the group needs donations of C.B. radios, walkie talkies, and gas money. She also said that more people with cars are needed for the patrols.

BAR OWNER'S RESPONSIBILITY

At the Wednesday night meetings questions were also raised about the responsibility of bar owners on Franklin to protect their customers.

"I think we've got to start putting the squeeze on these bars," said Vernon Bellecourt, "Sometimes you have to go to the cancer, that is the bars in the community that are exploiting the people nightly and don't care about them once they're out the door."

The same theme was returned to at the larger community meeting Thursday night at Trinity First Church. Pat Amo, Indian Projects Officer for the City said, "t seems to me that it is against the law around here to serve alcohol to people who are already intoxicated. It seems to me that it is against the law to allow an intoxicated person to leave a bar in such a condition that they can't possibly get home by themselves or drive a car."

While some people advocated picketing the bars or going after their liquor license, others cautioned against scapegoating the bars and said that putting pressure on them to act more responsibly was the answer.

Art Renallo of Mr. Arthur's and Gary Rachner of The Corral, who were both at the Thursday night meeting, pledged to cooperate fully with the police and the community.

AIM, GUARDIAN ANGELS UNITE EFFORTS

Amo and others also called on the AIM Patrol and Guardian Angels to put aside their differences and work together.

Joe Big Bear of the Guardian Angels announcèd that they are suspending their patrols in other areas of the city so that they can focus all their attention on Phillips. He also announced that Guardian Angels founder, Curtis Silwa would be flying in from New York to help out with the effort.

Bill Means of the American Indian Movement Patrol said that they need volunteers to man a 24 hr. Hotline and Rumor Control Center in their office.

Neighborhood residents were urged to volunteer for the AIM Patrol and the Hotline and Rumor Control Center they are trying to set up in their office. The AIM Patrol phone number is 872-7812.

Source: The Alley — May 1987.

Indigenous Women's Network

A public trust fund on behalf of the survivors of the American Indian women murdered by a serial killer has been established. It is called the "Honor the Women Survivors Fund." It is at the Southside Federal Credit Union, 736 E. Lake St., Minneapolis. MN. 55407. Contact: Mary Ellen Kaluza 612-827-8181. The fund is to be used for related burial expenses, legal fees and care of the victim's children. The money will be divided equally among all families traumatized by the serial killer.

The Whitebird family has donated a painting by Joseph Whitebird to the Division of Indian Work The painting is to be used to generate funds for a memorial fund for women in the Phillips neighborhood who are in crisis by rape or other assault.

The Whitebird famly has been combing the area where Angeline's body was found for some of her possessions or notes she may have dropped.

The White bird family will return to Minneapolis from the Wisconsin home to participate in the Honor the Women march on May 16. Albert Whitebird, brother to Angeline Whitebird said he is considering wearing his full headress for the march. The march will demonstrate unity among all people concerned about crimes against women.

Eugene Robertson, step-father of Angela K Green, said "My daughter was a gentle person I know she would want us to catch this guy (serial killer) so other women won't be hurt. I know she would want us to make sure he gets a fair trial so we don't convict the wrong person."

Larry Stillday, Project Manager of the Family Violence Program: Division of Indian Work has received the Whitebird painting. D.I.W. 3045 Park Ave., Minneapolis, MN. 55407. Phone: 827-1795. Still day has been invited to attend this news conference.

Attorney Larry Leventhal is on the committee of the Honor the Women Survivors Fund. He has been requested by the Whitebird family to attend this conference.

According to a reliable source the Sharon Lingor and Kathleen Bullman families are from out of state. They will be included in the Honor the Women Survivors Fund along with any past or future victims of the serial killer verified by police.

According to Rod Greengrass, the raggae band Ipso Facto, has offered to perform a benefit concert to raise money for the trust fund. It is tentative scheduled for the 6th of June to be held behind the Minneapolis American Indian Center, Franklin Ave., Rod Greengrass, Editor of "The Circle" Indian News: 871-4749.

Contributions of the American Indian to Modern Civilization

By Dr. William B. Newell

Social psychologists and anthropologists claim that when two individuals or groups of people associate together for any length of time there is a tendency on the part of these individuals or groups to become alike in their dispositions, personalities, and in their ways of living and doing things. In other words an exchange of culture take place between these individuals or groups which has a tendency to create an entirely new and different culture complex and at the same time make them more evenly balanced culturally. For a simple illustration of this phenomenon we might point out that married people after several years of constant companionship tend to become alike in many of their habits, actions, and ways of doing things. This same theory applies to larger groups of people who have distinctly different cultural backgrounds.

Within recent months a few scientists have become intensely interested in the science of acculturation and have selected the American Indian as a subject for study. These men are interested in learning to what extent the American Indian has been affected by contact with European peoples and to what extent he has become a "white man." In contrast to this phase of research your writer has been studying the subject from the other way around and has sought to determine to what degree the European has become an "Indian", since there is unquestionably an even exchange, more or less, of cultural traits between the European people and the American Indian—since the advent of the white man to the New World some four or five hundred years ago. We often hear it said that the white man taught the Indian only evils and none of the white man's virtues. Perhaps the time will eventually come when we can honestly say that the American Indian "taught the white man only his virtues and no evils."

In a study of this kind one has to deal with the rich folk lore, folk background, and the self-sufficient complexes of folk ways, or culture, as they existed before and during the early phases of European contact. We must begin by determining the natural core of human social endeavor, or culture, of a selected group, which in this case is the American Indian, before his culture was contaminated in any way by outside cultures and then after determining the degree of complexity determine his position culturally with respect to different groups entirely disassociated from each other, such as the European people were from the Amerian Indians, and finally to determine his priority influence in establishing certain present day social cultural concepts accepted in American civilized society today and which I choose to call Americanism.

The first important process in our study is differentiating between what is Indian culture and foreign, or European culture. It is simple enough to make study of the socio cultural relations between two modern communities such as Middletown and New York City and arrive at some basic conclusion regarding the cultural differences existing between these two communities, but to conduct a similar research between two groups that lived some four or five hundred years ago and determine to what decree they affected each other, and to recite specifically the cultural influence they exerted on each other, involves a tremendous amount of research.

This paper in no way attempts to set for the data involved in a comparative study of these cultures but merely brings to the attention of social psychologists and students of cultural exchange, or acculturation, the problem involved, and respectfully points out several interesting factors that must be considered in a study of this sort. Secondly it is hoped that it may inspire some readers with the incentive to enlarge upon the thesis and give the world a true picture of American Indian Culture, and prove beyond doubt that what we call Americanism today is a combination of Indian and European cultures.

Naturally no one is in a position to accept definitely these factors as being basically true until they have made a complete analysis of the status of cultures in the two groups as they existed some four or five hundred years ago. It should be remembered that we are dealing with the socio cultural traits of these groups and not with their material culture. We know, for instance, that just as soon as the first Indian saw an iron kettle he realized that it was superior to the old clay pot with when he cooked his food and he immediately accepted this material cultural trait without question. Cultural changes of this sort goes on indefinitely and continuously, and the horse and wagon passed out of existence just about as rapidly as did the old clay pot of the American Indians.

In order to determine the exact difference existing between these two groups necessitates a vast research into the culture of these peoples as expressed in the writings and records, and superficial observations of all those who first came into contact with the American Indians.

Although it is difficult, at times, to give a clear definition of the two aspects of cultural change an approximation may be secured sufficient to substantiate the fact that there was a new and old culture which definitely reveal actual social processes.

One point that strengthens the argument is the fact that the socio culture of the American Indian was not as complex as that of the European peoples and due to its simplicity and intense stability was the stronger of the two, and was little affected by the very small groups of Europeans who first met the Indians, who were then living in much larger communities, where they were forced to accept the order of the day and imitate so far as possible those with whom they resided. In other words, "When in Rome do as the Romans Do." If we were to decide on a trip to the land of the Eskimo we most certainly would have to learn to eat raw fish and endure hardships and conditions with which we would be totally unacquainted. A culture such as existed in the life of the American Indian was sacred and lasting. On the other hand, civilization is a highly complex mixture of culture and is less stable and less influential in its ability to ingratiate itself permanently into the life of a primitive group such as existed among the American Indians. Cultural change takes place more easily in a complex civilization than in a more simple cultural group.

This fact is emphasized in that the American Indian today, after five hundred years of contact, still retains a large percentage of his native culture even after struggling against strong forces which have sought to break down his culture and inculcate into his personality European cultural traits.

In spite of the concentrated efforts and close proximity of European peoples in their endeavour to force upon the American Indian their culture the result has been failure to a very large extent. This is again emphasized by the fact that today over half of the 6,000 Iroquois Indians living in the thickly populated State of New York still retain their ancient religious concepts and beliefs. Efforts on the part of Commissioner John Collier of the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Washington to force down the throat of some fifty thousand Navajo Indians in the Southwest a new system of community relationship is meeting with the same resistance and consequent failure.

One must take into consideration not only the effect of social contact with the American Indian in the exchange of cultures but also with the socio-economic aspect into which the European was thrown upon his arrival in the New World. Primitive economy was responsible to a high degree for a comparatively even exchange of cultures in this particular field. The European had to shape his life to meet the exigencies and limitations imposed upon him by his new environment, and in time his attitude and even his character became affected by this change. Adjustment to existing conditions was forced through circumstances from which there was no escape, and incidentally no desire for escape in most instances. Strange as it may seem to people unacquainted with the true socio-culture of the American Indian there are scores of individual records supported by documentary evidence which inform us that after associations had been formed with some Indian group by different individuals there arose some compelling force or reason for not wanting to give up this new life found in the American Indian community. In the "Life of Mary Jemison," who became a captive during the first French and Indian War, after a few years residence with the Indians, refused outright to return to European civilization and stated specifically that she preferred Indian life to the old life that she had been familiar with. This prolonged contact with Indian culture completely affaced any desire to change, and produced a social transformation into the life of this particular person. The social forces that transformed Mary Jemison into an Indian is only exemplary of how Indian culture affected every European who made the slightest contact socially and economically with Indian life and society.

Naturally the speed of acculturation would depend entirely upon the degree of exposure to such Indian groups and their associated behaviour. The degree of infiltration and incorporation would also have to be taken into account. Naturally those who came to the New World during the first 250 years would be more apt to have absorbed and inculcated Indian culture on their own personalities than those who came during the past two hundred years. We know that many Indian sociological and philosophical ideas were taken to Europe with the first contact made with the American Indian. But after the first 250 years sufficient exchange had taken place to definitely establish new cultural traits which have given birth to new ideas heretofore unknown in the Old World.

But, as has been stated, the problem before us is to determine the affect of this exchange of culture upon European peoples, and not upon the Indians, and to determine conclusively some of the outstanding contributions of the American Indian to modern social culture and civilization. We know what he has contributed economically and in the following list of factors which are suggested for a study of this nature many of these economic factors will be mentioned.

The real purpose of this paper is to point out a few of the definitely established sociological and economic contributions which have been accepted by the best authorities on the subject. A discussion of the moral and ethical values of Indian culture would require a volume in itself. Indian political theories as embraced in the League of the Iroquois are important and stand out in marked contrast to the European theory of the "the divine right of kings," which flourished in Europe at the time of discovery of America. The individual rights of man were recognized in America long before the Europeans awakened to this political philosophy. Ideas of freedom, liberty, and equality existed and were engraved in the hearts of the Indians when European were "boiled or roasted" for daring to speak against the state or church. One of the outstanding differences between the European and the American Indian was the fact that in America the Indian was permitted freedom of thought while in Europe an individual's thinking was done for him by autocratic and dogmatic leaders. A similar situation still exists today in some European countries and even in American there are those who would shape our opinions if they could.

It was from the Iroquois League that we first learned the meaning of true democratic ideals. It was here in American that we learned what freedom of speech, freedom of worship, equal representation, and constitutional government really meant. It was from these ancient political philosophers that the world first knew democracy. It was here that real statesmen served their constituents faithfully, without any other pay than the honor, respect and esteem of their people. Governor Cadwallader Golden who wrote the first American history in 1727, some fifty years before the revolutionary war, tells that these men "were elected on the basis of their merit, because of their honesty and integrity, and that they were usually the poorest men in the nation; never keeping anything for themselves, but distributing all annuities and monies equally among the people." It was in this first history that the early colonists were informed that here existed a "true democracy." In order to illustrate further how the Indian lived under an order such as this I will list in the following

paragraphs some customs which were a part of the everyday existence of these people; and at the same time call the attention of the reader to the fact that present day "Americans" are doing these same things which were strange to them before coming to the land of the free and the home of the "Brave."

DICTATORS were unknown among the Iroquois. No man could tell another what he should do. Every man was allowed to decide for himself what he should do. Even the Sachems and "Chiefs" suggested but never commanded or insisted too strongly. To do such a thing would immediately lower them in the estimation of the people and cause their removal from office. "We Counsel Together" was a famous phrase of the Iroquois and every man was allowed freedom of expression.

GOVERNMENT had a central seat where representatives of the several nations met to discuss state matters and where unanimous decisions only were rendered. A single dissenting vote defeated Legislative action. There was "absolute harmony and the greatest decorum observed in their great councils."

HUMANE: Indians were gentle and kind: (a)They never whipped their children but still retained the love and respect of their children all through life. They were unlike the Spartans who tied their boys to whipping posts each morning and lashed them to make them cruel and savage warriors. (b)They cared for their old people and among the Iroquois an elderly person was never heard of who did not have a home and food to eat. It is unknown for young Indian boys and girls to torment or tease elderly persons. (c)Father Pierre Biard, the first Jesuit priest to reach America in 1611 says that "if it had not been for the kindness and hospitality of the Indians they would have perished the first three winters they lived in America." (d)The pilgrim Fathers were welcomed and cared for and nursed back to health by the same Indians who had been pillaged and plundered by adventurous Europeans for over seventy-five years before the arrival of the Pilgrims. It was these same Indians who had lost their sons, fathers and grandfathers to marauding kidnappers from Europe who took their human cargo to Spain and sold them as slaves. It was actually one of these young Indians who greeted the Pilgrims in "excellent" English, who had escaped from Spain, and who had lived in England for seven years after his escape, that approached the Pilgrims upon their arrival in the New World and asked them what they wanted. The fact that these Indians would go to the trouble to ask their enemy what they wanted when they already knew from seventy-five years' experience, only goes to show that the Indian was just reasonably tolerant, and always willing to give the benefit of any doubt to the other fellow. These people were not savages who were so tolerant so generous, so forgiving and ready to extend to these whites a home in America. (e)There is not a single early explorer who was not extended the helping hand by the American Indian upon their arrival in America.

QUARRELING: all the Jesuit writers inform us, was never seen in Indian homes, towns, communities. Even today, in 1939, one hardly ever sees two Indians quarrel unless they may perhaps be intoxicated. When Indians living in New York City, or any other city for that matter are arrested for "celebrating" or arrested for any other reason it is significant that deadly weapons are never found on their persons. They do not carry guns, daggers or blackjacks. They are not cowards.

BULLIES: are unknown among the Indians. It is unknown for an Indian to take an unfair advantage of an adversary. There is not a record of an Indian war that was not first of all announced to the enemy. There is no place in history where any Indian nation was the first to start a war between the white and the Indians. Among children the common school bully is unknown.

CHARACTER: Sir William Johnson, British Indian agent, after thirty-five years' association with them says "they are only beginning to deceive in their transactions with us." In another of his documents he states that he has even tried to make an Indian steal but failed. Lying was punished by death.

FREEDOM OF WOMEN: Women received the honor and respect that no other people gave their women. There is not a single court record in the State of New York showing that an Iroquois has ever been arrested for insulting or assaulting a woman, be she Indian or white. In all the lying, militaristic propaganda written about the Indians during the Revolutionary War, or any other war, for the purpose of arousing hatred in the hearts of the people against the Indian, no single writer has dared say that the sanctity of womanhood was ever desecrated by an Indian warrior. The writer has known at least fifty teachers who have taught on Indian reservations and they all state that they have no fear from the Indian men, be they drunk or sober. The respect that Indians gave their women, and all women, is characteristic of the Iroquois Indians. Indian women enjoyed equal rights with men and in some cases, were even considered superior to men. In some parts of the world, women were not even supposed to have souls.

BIRTH CONTROL: was practiced among the Iroquois, and the family was no larger than three or four children.

TRIAL MARRIAGE: The Jesuit priest inform us that trial marriage was also practiced.

HEALTH: habits practiced by the Iroquois have since been adopted by Europeans. People nowadays dress lightly. Boys no longer wear hats: heavy red woolens are no longer worn, and it was only ten years ago that the first women dared wear a pair of silk hose through a whole winter season, against the advice of physicians who stated that all women would die from pneumonia, if they did such a thing. Bathing has become more or less common now days among white people. When America was first discovered Europeans did not bathe the body because it was considered a mortal sin to make the body beautiful by cleaning it. This accounts of the numerous skin diseases brought to America by Europeans. Measles, smallpox, chicken pox and all skin diseases were non-existent in America. On the other hand the Jesuit priests in all their relations tell us that every Indian village had several turkish baths. Some Indian tribes had a bath cult, where it was a part of their religion to bathe and keep clean. Sunlight and bathing have become the order of the day and exposing the body to the sun and fresh air, like the Indian did, is making the modern American healthy and strong, like the Indian use to be. The Indian was not a nudist. Fresh air while sleeping was an Indian custom which twenty-five years ago was considered unhealthy by white people. Hiking clubs and soldiers are taught now to walk like the Indian. George Catlin, who lived among the Indians, inform us that "the Indians have a peculiar way of swimming, instead of shooting both hands out from the chin (the breat stroke), they use the overhand stroke. Today we all swim like the Indian swam.

CRUELTY. Our American Indians learned how to be cruel from the Europeans. Burning at the stake was a European custom introduced to Indians by the Spanish, French and English. Joan of Arc was burned alive sixty-one years before Columbus discovered America. The Apache Indians have never heard of scalping until it was first introduced by our own soldiers back in 1881. When America was first discovered it was believed by Europeans that anyone who knew not Christ was an infidel and it was the duty of these "dark age" Christians to burn all infidels. It meant one step nearer heaven to do this so that when the Indian was discovered many poor Indian victims suffered at the hands of these ignorant believers.

EQUALITY. It is told by many explorers that no one Indian had more than his fellow man and that when one was hungry they all were hungry. It is also said that they always shared their food equally among their captives and with strangers.

GAMBLING. Indians loved to gamble but strange as it may seem, at the end of the game it was customary to return all winnings to the losers. They had no desire to possess in the sense that we moderns do.

RESPONSIBILITY. Irresponsiveness such as we have in American today could not and did not exist. Today we hear on all sides the philosophy of "let the other fellow take the rap," "get away with it if you can," and many other attitudes of like nature. This was not Indian. The white man has not fully accepted this culture yet from the Indian. He has always been under the yoke of some overlord who has dominated him. In other words, he has never been fully free and it is only as these individuals become free that they will cast out greed and assume their positions as free men in a true democracy. When we learn to work for each other and not against each other we will have a true democracy. Such conflicts were practically unknown.

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN. The Indians always called the white man "brother" in all his dealings with him. He never called him "master", "your majesty," or any other title which in any way would indicate that he considered him a superior or lesser being. Every man was trusted and deceit was never looked for in a fellow man. White people first coming to America were given a place to build their lodge but never under any circulstances did the Indian give or sell outright to him land which was supposed to be free to all human beings.

Not only did the American Indian teach us all our ideas of social democracy but also he contributed vastly to our economics.

The following list of food plants, and economic contributions are only a few of the many that exist. There are hundreds of others not mentioned here. The fact to bear in mind is that these were known to the Indian, and used by the Indian, long before the Europeans discovered America and eventually taken over by the white man.

CORN is a culture as well as every other economic product or plant taken up by the white man. When Indian corn was accepted it meant taking the whole culture; husking pins, corn cribs, husking bees, "barn dances," and the forty or fifty ways of preparing corn for eating.

The following are only a few such articles which involved hundreds of minor cultural traits:

Potatoes, Tomatoes, Pumpkins, Squashes, Lima Beans, Kidney Beans, Peppers, Coca (Cacao), Pineapples, Nispero, Barbadoes, Cherry, Strawberries, Persimmons, Papaws, Guava, Oca, Cashew Nut, Pacay, Jocote, Star Apples, Mate Tea, Alligator Pear, Sour Sop, Sweet Sop, Custard Apple, Cassava, Cucumber, Peanuts, Maple Sugar.

Tobacco (a culture taken up by nearly everybody), Quinine (important medicinal contribution), Casa Sagrade (most important laxative used today); Cocaine (important drug used extensively by Indians in pre-Columbian days), Cotton (Indians wore first cotton clothing in the world), Henequen (hemp), Rubber (Indians first invented rubber), Copal (an important varnish), Peruvian Balm, Sunflower, Parica (In South America only). (No intoxicating beverages or drugs were used in North America).

Flavors: vanilla, chocolate, pineapple, maple and strawberry.

Under Potatoes, it should be noted that among the Aymara Indians no less than 240 different varieties of potatoes were cultivated.

Under Cassava, it should be noted that it was first necessary to remove the deadly prussic acid from the plant before it became edible. This poison was sometimes used as a preservative to prevent putrefaction of meat.

Asceptics. The Indian was the first to use boiled water for cleansing and dressing wounds.

Trephining. An important surgical operation whereby a section of the skull bone is removed to relieve pressure on the brain, was frequently performed by the Indians of Peru.

Asceptics. The Indian was a person to withstand pain and submit to amputation or other surgical operations.

In the field of science the American Indians were especially clever. Zero was invented a thousand years before the Arabians came out with it in the Old World. The calendar system of the Maya was far superior to our own system and much more accurate. The first people to develop the decimal system represented in the Quipu of the Peruvian were Indians. This hundred of years before the white man.

Metallurgy. They worked gold, silver, and bronze better than any of the ancient civilizations of the Old World. They were the first to use and work platinum.

Arts and Crafts. The famous textiles of the Peruvians have been recognized by authorities as being the best the world has ever seen. Authorities claim that no race on earth made baskets as well as the Poma and other Indian tribes of California. Their beauty and technique excelled all others.

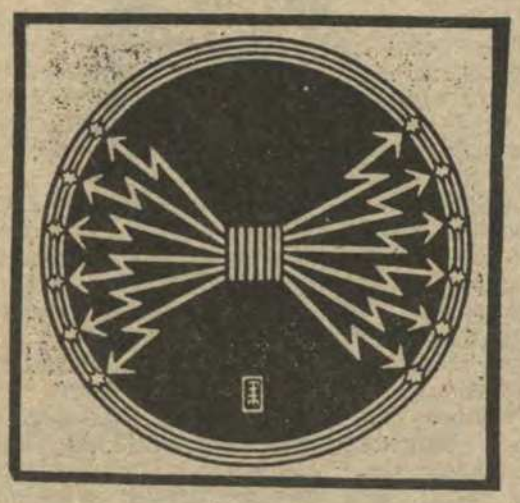
Agriculture. Irrigation, fertilizers, crop rotation, and many other so-called modern farming methods were practiced by the intensive agriculturists of the Southwest in the United States and Peru.

Masonry. The stone walls of Cuzco are still as great a mystery to us today as they ever have been. We do not know how the stones were quarried and so well fitted together.

Modern apartment buildings are much like the Pueblo buildings of the Hopi and Zuni Indians.

Chewing Gum.

Shaking Hands is just a good old Indian custom.



Onondaga Nation Anti-Gambling Law

RECOGNIZING that commercial gambling and wagering have had a destructive influence on many societies and cultures and; CONCERNED over the impact that commercial gambling and wagering may have on the well-being of our children and the harmony of our Nation:

THE ONONDAGA COUNCIL OF CHIEFS hereby enacts an anti-gambling law for the Onondaga Nation Resident Territory:

1. Commercial gambling and wagering in any form including but not limited to Bingo, Bingo Jack, Blackjack, Pull Tabs, Slot Machines, Craps, Bookmaking, Casino Airplane, or anything derived from such activities are prohibited within the geographical boundaries of the Onondaga Nation. Any person organizing, financing, operating, conducting, or receiving proceeds from a commercial gambling enterprise shall be subject to the following penalities at the discretion of the Council of the Chiefs:

a) seizure and forefeiture of property within the Onondaga nation;

b) banishment and removal from the Onondaga Nation;

c) removal from the rolls of the Onondaga Nation.

2. Any individual, group, or groups from other Nations, Indian and non-Indian, attempting to support, organize, finance, operate, conduct, or receive proceeds from a commercial gambling enterprise within the geographical borders of the Onondaga Nation, in any form including but not limited to Bingo, Bingo Jack, Pull Tabs, Slot Machines, Craps, Book making, Casino Airplane or anything derived from such activities shall be subject to fines and penalties at the descretion of the Council of Chiefs.

a) Forfeiture of any or all property, personal or otherwise, including but not limited to vehicles, vans, trucks, gambling paraphernalia, and all funds derived from such activities.

b) Removal from the Onondaga Nation for a time to be stipulated by the Onondaga Council of Chiefs, with all visiting privileges suspended until such time as the Onondaga Council of Chiefs shall determine.

3. Recognized Onondaga Nation non-profit organization may conduct Bingo Games under the following terms:

a) Organization shall have a Bingo License issued by the Onondaga Council of Chiefs;

b) Bingo games shall be conducted according to rules and regulations which the Council may from time to time adopt, and within the prize limits established by the Council.

c) All Bingo proceeds must be used for Educational, Cultural, or Charitable purposes within the Onondaga Nation or for other public purposes which may be mandated by the Council of Chiefs;

d) Any diversion of Bingo proceeds for personal profit of any individual or indivuals shall be considered as commercial gambling and be subject to the same penalties.

4. Permits and Licenses must be provided and approved by the Council of Chiefs.

Enacted the 28th day of MAY, 1987 under the seal of the Onondaga Nation.

ONONDAGA COUNCIL OF CHIEFS

Onondaga Nation Explosives Control Ordinance

In order to protect human health and safety the following regulations and penalties are enacted.

1. No fireworks including firecrackers, cherry bombs, Roman candles or similar explosive materials shall be brought or transported into the Territory of the Onondaga Nation effective immediately.

2. The sale of fireworks, including firecrackers, cherry bombs, Roman candles, or similar explosive materials after JUNE 4, 1987 is strictly prohibited.

a) persons intending to sell such fireworks until JUNE 4, 1987 must provide and allow an inventory of stock currently in their possession for inspection by the Council of Chiefs.

3. Commercial quantities of any explosive materials included in paragraph 1, brought into the Onondaga Nation Territory following the of this ordinance shall be deemed contraband and shall be subject to immediate seizure.

4. Any person found possessing or selling contraband fireworks shall be subject to such fines and penalties as the Council may establish in each particular circumstance.

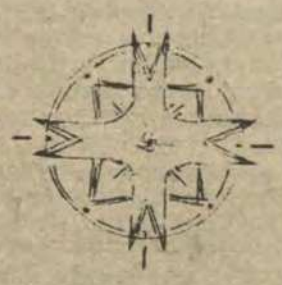
a) Seizure of explosive materials deemed contraband

b) Fine for sale of contraband.

5. Continued violations will result in heavier fines and penalties.

6. Permits and licenses for any new enterprise must be provided and approved by the Council of Chiefs.

ONONDAGA COUNCIL OF CHIEFS



Tuscaroras Outlaw Gambling

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following notice was received by the Mohawk Nation from the Tuscaroras who are experiencing a situation similar to that of Akwesasne. Like here, the Tuscaroras are anticipating great legal problems over this issue.

Ta-Do-Da-Ho
Chief Leon Shenondoah
Haudenosaunee Grand Council
Onondaga Nation
Box 270
via: Nedrow, NY 13120

Greetings:

The Tuscarora Chiefs in Council recognizing that commercial gambling and wagering have had a destructive influence on many societies and cultures, and being concerned over the impact that commerical gambling may have on the well-being of our children, coming generations and the harmony of our Nation, reaffirmed a NO gambling law passed by the Tuscarora Chiefs in Council in 1885 with action taken on the attached notice. Action was taken by the Chiefs in Council, April 1, 1987.

May you and our Brother Haudenosaunee support us in this very important matter.

Oneh! Chief Leo R. Henry, Clerk
Tuscarora Nation

— LEGAL NOTICE —

THE TUSCARORA NATION CHIEFS IN COUNCIL HEREBY REAFIRM AN ANTI—GAMBLING LAW FOR THE TUSCARORA NATION: COMMERCIAL GAMBLING AND WAGERING IN ANY FORM, INCLUDING BUT NOT LIMITED TO BINGO, BINGO JACK, BLACK JACK, PULL—TABS, SLOT MACHINES, CRAPS AND BOOKMAKING, ARE PROHIBITED WITHIN THE GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES OF THE TUSCARORA NATION.

Oneh!
Chief Leo R. Henry, Clerk
Tuscarora Nation

Tuscarora Nation 2006 Mt. Hope Road — via: Lewiston, New York 14092.

Mohawk Nation Responds to Tuscarora Request For Help

The Mohawk Nation Council of Chiefs responded to a request for assistance from the Tuscarora Nation in its struggle to prevent a commerical bingo from opening there.

The bingo operation was initiated by Joseph "Smokey Joe" Anderson, a Tuscarora and resident of that community, located 10 miles northeast of Niagara Falls, N.Y. Anderson maintains that the bingo hall is owned by the Tuscarora Warrior Society. The Tuscarora Nation Council passed a law in April forbidding gambling with that community. A confrontation between the bingo employees and supporters of the Tuscarora Nation resulted May 29 when the hall was first opened and attempts were made to force it to close by blocking the road leading to the building.

A spokesperson for the Tuscarora Nation said the bingo hall workers allegedly assaulted a Tuscarora chief and a clanmother on May 30. The Nation Council attempted to avoid an increase in the violence by calling for the six members of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy to go to Tuscarora to monitor the situation there and lend support if necessary.

The Mohawk Nation Council sent a number of delegates to Tuscarora where they, along with the other Iroquois nations, listened to the explanations of the events from the Tuscarora Nation and Mr. Anderson. Also at the session were two Mohawk delegates from Kahnawake, Paul Delaronde and Philip Deer. A number of Akwesasne residents were also there to monitor the situation.

Jerry Chew, the manager of the bingo hall, when interviewed by *Akwesasne Notes* said he was a member of the 'Tuscarora General Council', which is, according to Chew, a council type of government that is "elected" rather than appointed as is the Tuscarora Nation Council. Chew accused the Tuscarora Nation of "bad faith" by waiting until the "last moment" to protest the bingo games when they knew what the hall would be used for as early as last December. The Tuscarora chiefs insist the hall owners told the people that the building was not a bingo hall but a facility for housing a fire department.

Anderson was angry because of the presence of the Onondagas at Tuscarora. He accused the Onondagas of being "jealous" of the Tuscaroras and of acting "high and mighty". He said he "enjoyed" the protest because "it brought people together". Anderson held that the Tuscarora bingo was the "most legal in the country" because it did not have any non-Indian investors and had all native management and staff. Chew, the bingo manager, said the hall employed 38 Indians.

Chew noted that while the bingo games attracted only 325 players over the past weekend and they did lose money he would be open for business this coming Friday. "We are willing to negotiate a peaceful solution," Chew said, "But we will continue operations."

Both Chew and Anderson maintained that it was the demonstrators that started the fight during the protest. Those at the demonstration say that the bingo hall security, whom they refer to as "goons" provoked the conflict and did not hesitate to assault the women on the picket line. A contingent of several dozen New York State Police were in the vicinity of Tuscarora at that time to prevent any serious fighting but did not make any arrests.

The Tuscarora Nation has appealed to the Haudenosaunee Confederacy to lend it support in its attempt to control gambling there. The Confederacy is scheduled to debate the issue at the next Confederate meeting at Onondaga. The Tuscarora Nation is, according to sources, trying to seek a "peaceful" solution to the bingo issue even as other sources said that the Tuscarora Warrior Society had a group of armed men waiting at a secret location near the bingo hall and were prepared to stop the demonstration with weapons if the confrontation continued.

Native elder at Tuscarora protests commercial bingo hall. May 29, 1987.
Photo: Jamie Germano, Niagara Gazette

Thomas Tooley, attorney for Tuscarora businessman Joseph 'Smokey Joe' Anderson, watching demonstrators protest bingo hall at Tuscarora. May 29, 1987.
Photo: Jamie Germano

Billy Smith, Crandall Johnson and Tracy Johnson assault chief Kenneth Patterson at the protest held against the Tuscarora bingo hall. May 29, 1987.
Photo: Jamie Germano

Joseph Anderson attempts to pass through demonstrators protesting the opening of a bingo hall at Tuscarora. May 29, 1987.
Photo: Jamie Germano

Tuscarora resident Johnny Billings confronts bingo hall protestors and is restrained by Rusty Billings (left) and Richard Hill (right). May 29, 1987.
Photo: Jamie Germano

Bingo player Linda Dabuc Capton attempts to drive through demonstrators to reach bingo hall with Johnny Billings trying to clear the way.
Photo: Jamie Germano

Miskito refugees in Honduras await peace settlement between MISURASATA and the Sandinistas so they can return to their homes in Nicaragua.

Photo: Sue Devall

Misurasata Proposes Peace Treaty

MISURASATA's proposed Treaty of Peace was released to the public by Brooklyn Rivera in San Jose, Costa Rica on April 21, 1987. It is a detailed, comprehensive proposal for autonomy for Nicaraguan Indians within the traditional Indian territory of the Atlantic Coast region. Under this proposal, the new autonomous territory would be called Yapti Tasba, which means "Motherland" in Miskito.

This proposal was developed for two main reasons:

1) To show the Sandinista government and all the people of Nicaragua that there is a reasonable alternative to the government's unilateral autonomy project. The government's autonomy scheme protects few of the fundamental rights that the MISURASATA proposal would guarantee.

2) To respond to the continuing accusations that MISURASATA is committed to "separatism." These accusations have come primarily from the Sandinistas on the left and from the FDN ("contras") on the right. MISURASATA's proposal makes clear that autonomy does not mean independence or separation. It means that Indian rights to self-government, land and resources would be respected and guaranteed within the framework of the Nicaraguan State.

PROPOSAL OF MISURASATA For A TREATY OF PEACE

Misurasata, representative of the Miskito, Sumo and Rama Indians of Nicaragua, proposes this Treaty to end the existing conflict and to establish a just and peaceful relationship between the Government of Nicaragua and the Indian Nations and Peoples of the Atlantic Coast region. Misurasata proposes a system of autonomous self-government which would guarantee historic rights and protect against discrimination and ethnocide.

This is a call for revolutionary change in the relationship of the Nations and Peoples of Nicaragua. The proposed Treaty would establish the legal framework for a new era of harmony among all Nicaraguans. Misurasata calls on the Government of Nicaragua, all Nicaraguans, all political, social and religious institutions, and the international community to study the Treaty and to support its early ratification. A summary of the Treaty follows:

Article 1

The Miskito, Sumo and Rama Nations will exercise their right to self-determination within the framework of the Nicaraguan State. The Indian peoples have an inalienable right to all of the lands, waters and resources of the traditional Indian territory which is to be known as the autonomous territory of Yapti Tasba.

All peoples of the autonomous territory, including Indians, Creole, Carib (Garifuno), and Ladino, will be protected against discrimination. The rights of ethnic communities to the use and benefit of the lands, waters and resources will be guaranteed.

Article 2

The autonomous territory of Yapti Tasba is established within the Republic of Nicaragua. It encompasses the traditional territories of the Miskito, Sumo and Rama Nations, including those areas which are now populated by Creole, Carib (Garifuno) and Ladino communities.

Article 3

Yapti Tasba will be a self-governing territory under a constitution and laws established democratically by representatives of all of the Atlantic Coast people. Soon after the Treaty is signed, there will be an assembly of representatives from all communities for the purpose of drafting a constitution for the autonomous territory.

Article 4

The autonomous governing authorities will be responsible for all governmental affairs within Yapti Tasba except those matters that are delegated to the Government of Nicaragua through the Treaty of or other agreement.

Article 5

The autonomous governing authorities will have authority over the use, occupation, development and ownership of all lands, waters and resources of the autonomous territory. Rights to these lands, waters and resources may not be taken from the people of Yapti Tasba.

Article 6

The Government of Nicaragua also has governmental powers and responsibilities within Yapti Tasba, including military defense against external military aggression, foreign relations, customs and international borders, Nicaraguan citizenship and immigration, currency and the postal system, and court jurisdiction over some criminal and civil cases. Residents of Yapti Tasba will not be conscripted into the Nicaraguan armed forces, Nicaraguan troops will be withdrawn from all communities, and only agreed-upon Nicaraguan military bases will be located in the autonomous territory. Autonomous police and security forces will be established.

The autonomous governing authorities will be involved in all Nicaraguan governmental matters within Yapti Tasba. The Government of Nicaragua will be required to appoint residents of Yapti Tasba to carry out its responsibilities in the autonomous territory.

Article 7

An impartial joint commission of jurists is established to resolve any dispute which might arise about the division of governmental authority between the Government of Nicaragua and the governing authorities of Yapti Tasba.

Article 8

The native languages of the Miskito, Sumo, Rama, Carib (Garifuno) and Creole are recognized as official languages for the conduct of all governmental affairs in the autonomous territory.

The Government of Nicaragua will provide economic support for reconstruction, repatriation and resettlement, and economic development through the autonomous governing authorities. The governing authorities will seek international economic support and work towards economic self-sufficiency for Yapti Tasba.

Article 9

The Government of Nicaragua will provide economic support for reconstruction, repatriation and resettlement, and economic development through the autonomous governing authorities. The governing authorities will seek international economic support and work towards economic self-sufficiency for Yapti Tasba.

Article 10

To help implement this Treaty, a Joint Peace Commission is established to investigate reports of continuing conflict and to arbitrate and resolve disputes which might contribute to breaches of the peace. Members of international Indian community will serve on this Commission together with Nicaraguans appointed by the Government of Nicaragua and the governing authorities of Yapti Tasba.

Article 11

Representatives of the Indian organizations who are signatories of the Treaty will establish the Provisional Government of the autonomous territory. The Provisional Government will be replaced by governing authorities elected under the constitution of Yapti Tasba.

The Provisional Government will appoint an Interim Military and Security Command to provide security and police forces, an Interim Commission on Human Rights to guard against human rights violations, and an Interim Judicial commission to uphold the law. Representatives of the Provisional Government will be permitted to visit all prisoners who are residents of the autonomous territory to review their cases and the conditions of their confinement.

Article 12

The Treaty is recognized as part of the supreme law of the Republic of Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan national courts are required to enforce it. The autonomous judicial authorities will have jurisdiction over the people and territory of Yapti Tasba.

Article 13

Human rights recognized under international law will be respected and guaranteed by the Government of Nicaragua and the governing authorities of Yapti Tasba.

Article 14

If necessary, the Government of Nicaragua will amend its constitution and laws to uphold this Treaty.

Article 15

A general amnesty is provided for all individuals who may have been involved in the armed conflict.

Signatories

Invitations to sign the Treaty are extended to representatives of all the Indian Nations and ethnic communities of Yapti Tasba, to the President of the Republic of Nicaragua and to other governmental representatives.

TREATY OF PEACE
Between The Republic of Nicaragua And The Indian Nations of Yapti Tasba

The undersigned representatives of the Government of the Republic of Nicaragua and of the Miskito, Sumo and Rama Nations and Peoples of the Atlantic Coast Indian territory known as Yapti Tasba, the autonomous territory, hereby declare an immediate ceasefire and commit their full powers, resources and energies to the restoration of peace and to the establishment of good relations between all Nicaraguan people pursuant to the terms of this solemn and historic Treaty.

Article I

A. The Miskito, Sumo and Rama are Indian Nations and Peoples with the inherent right to determine freely their political status and to pursue freely their economic, social and cultural development. Their right to self-determination shall be exercised within the framework of the Nicaraguan State.

B. The Creole and Carib (Garifuno) are ethnic communities who live in harmony with the Indian Peoples in the autonomous territory of Yapti Tasba. They and the Ladinos, part of the Nicaraguan national community, have the right to maintain and develop their own cultures and traditions and to be protected against all forms of discrimination.

C. The Miskito, Sumo and Rama Nations and Peoples have the inalienable right to the land, subsoil, rivers, lagoons, cays, islands, adjacent seas and seabed, fish, wildlife and all natural resources within their traditional territory of Yapti Tasba. The use, possession, benefit and control of these lands, waters and resources shall be governed by the autonomous governing authorities of Yapti Tasba.

D. The Creole, Carib (Garifuno) and Ladino who are lawfully residing within the autonomous territory shall have the right to the use and benefit of lands, waters and resources according to the traditional laws and customs of the people of Yapti Tasba. The individual and communal proprietary rights of all residents and communities of Yapti Tasba, including members of all ethnic groups, shall be respected and protected.

E. The signatories of this Treaty solemnly affirm that it is in the interests of national unity and harmony among all Nicaraguans to guarantee the right of self-determination of Indian Nations and Peoples and the rights of ethnic minorities so that all of the people of Yapti Tasba may freely promote their distinct ways of life and freely develop their lands and resources in a manner consistent with their own laws and customs, within the framework of national unity.

Article II

A. The autonomous territory of Yapti Tasba is hereby established within the Republic of Nicaragua.

B. Yapti Tasba encompasses the traditional territories of the Miskito, Sumo and Rama Nations within the present Nicaraguan State, including the areas within these territories which are now populated by Creole, Carib (Garifuno) and Ladino communities. The boundaries of Yapti Tasba are the following: Beginning at the mouth of the Wangki (Coco River) at the Caribbean it runs up river to the west, following the present border with Honduras, until reaching the community of Yakalpahni in northern Jinotega Province. Continuing from that point south and east in a line towards a hill known as Saslaya located near Siuna. From that point continuing southeast and including the area which is part of the community of Tumarin of Awaltara (Rio Grande) of Matagalpa. Continuing in the same direction to the area of Punta Gorda in the south of Bluefields and including the lands of the Rama. Continuing in an easterly direction to the Caribbean, the boundary line runs along the Caribbean Coast to the mouth of the Wangki. Yapti Tasba encompasses all of the lands and waters within these boundaries and the adjacent cays, islands, seas and seabed to which Nicaragua has rights under international law.

C. A joint commission shall be established to survey and recommend the precise official boundaries of Yapti Tasba. The survey report and recommendations shall be consistent with the above described general boundaries and shall be submitted to the Government of Nicaragua and the governing authorities of Yapti Tasba for their consideration and approval. When agreement on precise boundaries is reached, those agreed-upon boundaries shall be recognized as the official boundaries of Yapti Tasba, and an official map shall be printed and distributed to the public.

Article III

A. Yapti Tasba is hereby recognized as a self-governing autonomous territory of the Republic of Nicaragua. Its governing authorities shall be domocratically established by the people of Yapti Tasba.

B. The undersigned representatives of the Miskito, Sumo and Rama Nations shall promptly hold an assembly in Yapti Tasba for the purpose of drafting a constitution for the government of the autonomous territory. Democratically selected representatives of all communities of Yapti Tasba shall be invited to participate in that assembly. The assembly shall be conducted according to democratic Indian principles and shall establish an autonomous government whose authorities and institutions shall adhere to the terms of this Treaty.

C. The constititution of Yapti Tasba approved by the assembly shall be submitted to the people of the autonomous territory for their approval through a popular referendum of all the adults born in Yapti Tasba. The Government of Nicaragua shall recognize the constitution of Yapti Tasba and shall promulgate laws to ensure that the constitution is obeyed by the Government and by all Nicaraguans who are not residents of Yapti Tasba.

Article IV

A. The powers of the Government of Nicaragua over the peoples, land, waters and resources of Yapti Tasba shall be strictly limited to those powers that are expressly agreed upon in their Treaty or that may be delegated to the Government in subsequent agreements between the Government and the governing authorities of Yapti Tasba. All other governmental powers are reserved and held by the people of Yapti Tasba, to be exercised through their autonomous governing authorities according to the constitution and laws of Yapti Tasba.

B. The governing authorities of Yapti Tasba shall have all governmental powers and authority over land tenure, natural resources, agriculture, fishing and hunting, and environment, education, civil and criminal offenses, judicial courts, housing, taxation, security, religious institutions, political parties, labor unions and labor relations, commerce and economic development, social services, cultural affairs, the press and other news media, communications, airports and transportation, inheritance, and all other matters to the extent they are not expressly delegated.

Article V

A. The use, occupation, development and ownership of the land, subsoil, rivers, lagoons, cays, islands, adjacent seas, seabed, fish wildlife, and all natural resources of Yapti Tasba shall be governed by the autonomous governing authorities of Yapti Tasba. Individual and communal property rights recognized under the traditional laws and customs of the people of Yapti Tasba shall be respected and protected by the autonomous governing authorities.

B. The Government of Nicaragua shall make no claim to any proprietary right to the land, subsoil, rivers, lagoons, cays, islands, adjacent seas, seabed, fish, wildlife and natural resources of Yapti Tasba, and it shall, through the laws of Nicaragua, prevent its citizens and institutions from making or enforcing any such claim. It shall be unlawful for any person who is a non-resident of Yapti Tasba and for any institution or organization acting without express prior approval of the autonomous governing authorities, to make any claim or to authorize or accept the transfer of any right to the lands, waters or resources of Yapti Tasba, and any such unlawful transfer shall be void under the law.

C. Proprietary rights to lands, waters or resources of the autonomous territory may be transferred either to lawful residents of Yapti Tasba or to institutions authorized by the autonomous governing authorities to receive such transfers.

D. The autonomous governing authorities may acquire proprietary rights only for public purposes, and fair compensation shall always be provided.

Article VI

A. The Government of Nicaragua shall have powers and responsibilities over the military defense of Yapti Tasba against external military aggression, provided:

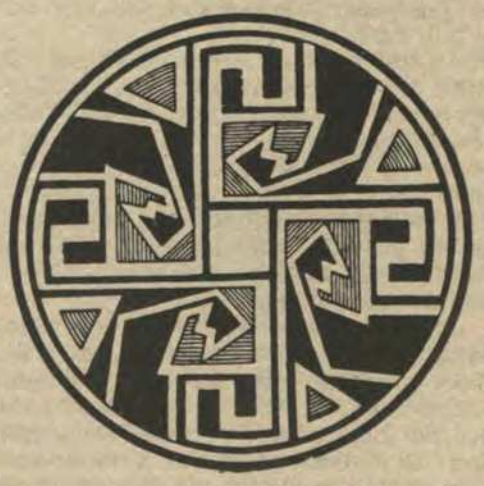
1. The armed forces of the Republic of Nicaragua which operate in the autonomous territory shall be under a military command established by agreement of the Government of Nicaragua and the autonomous governing authorities of Yapti Tasba. The appointment of military and security officials and the military command structure for all Nicaraguan armed forces operating in the autonomous territory shall be pursuant to this Treaty.

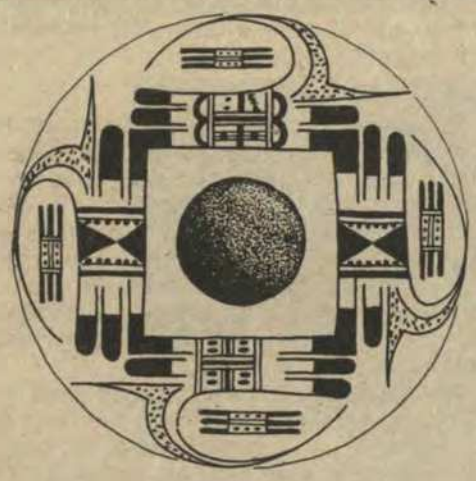
2. The Government of Nicaragua shall immediately remove all of its armed forces from the communities of Yapti Tasba and shall concentrate them in bases near Bilwi (Puerto Cabezas), Bluefields, and Rosita and in no more than five military posts on the international border of Yapti Tasba. The locations of all these bases shall be approved by the autonomous governing authorities. No other military or security installation shall be established or maintained within the autonomous territory without the express consent of the autonomous governing authorities.

3. All members of the armed forces of the Republic of Nicaragua operating in the autonomous territory shall be residents of Yapti Tasba, with the exception of those appointments for which the autonomous governing authorities agree that there are no qualified resident candidates available.

4. There shall be no conscription of residents of Yapti Tasba into the armed forces of the Republic of Nicaragua without the express consent of the autonomous governing authorities.

5. The governing authorities of Yapti Tasba shall have the authority to maintain autonomous police





and security forces, for the self-defense of the communities, enforcement of the law, and the maintenance of order. These autonomous forces shall coordinate with the armed forces of the Republic of Nicaragua for the defense of Yapti Tasba and of the country if necessary.

B. The Government of Nicaragua shall have powers and responsibilities to control foreign relations, provided: The governing authorities of Yapti Tasba shall have competence to enter into international agreements concerning political, economic, cultural, social, humanitarian and human rights matters. The autonomous governing authorities shall consult with the Government of Nicaragua about all such matters.

C. The Government of Nicaragua shall have powers and responsibilities to control customs and international borders, provided:

1. The right of residents of Yapti Tasba to travel freely across the Wangki (Coco River) border to carry out traditional activities and to maintain family ties shall be guaranteed and protected.
2. Control over fishing and turtling in the adjacent seas of Yapti Tasba shall be under the jursidiction of the autonomous governing authorities.
3. All officials appointed by the Government of Nicaragua to work on customs and border matters in Yapti Tasba shall be appointed exclusively from lists of qualified resident candidates prepared by the governing authorities of Yapti Tasba, with the exception of those appointments for which the autonomous governing authorities agree that there are no qualified resident candidates available.

D. The Government of Nicaragua shall have powers and responsibilities to control Nicaraguan citizenship and immigration, provided:

1. The Miskito, Sumo and Rama peoples shall each have exclusive authority to control and regulate membership in their respective nations.
2. Residency within the territory of Yapti Tasba shall be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the autonomous governing authorities.
3. Control and regulation of voting rolls, elections and referendums within Yapti Tasba shall be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the autonomous governing authorities.

E. The Government of Nicaragua shall have powers and responsibilities to control currency and the postal system, provided: All governmental officials appointed by the Government of Nicaragua to work on currency and postal matters in Yapti Tasba shall be appointed from lists of qualified resident candidates prepared by the governing authorities of Yapti Tasba, with the exception of those appointments for which the autonomous governing authorities agree that there are no qualified resident candidates available.

F. The Nicaraguan national courts shall have jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases concerning the exercise of delegated national powers within Yapti Tasba, provided:

1. Authority to adjudicate all other civil and criminal cases and disputes shall be held by the Councils and Assemblies of Elders, Courts of Yapti Tasba, or such other judicial authorities that the constitution and laws of the autonomous territory may establish.
2. The court trials of all civil and criminal cases concerning the violation of Nicaraguan national laws shall be held in national courts established in the autonomous territory.
3. All judicial officials and court personnel appointed by the Government of Nicaragua to work in the autonomous territory shall be appointed from lists of qualified resident candidates prepared by the governing authorities of Yapti Tasba, with the exception of those appointments for which the autonomous governing authorities agree that there are no qualified resident candidates available.

Article VII

Any dispute which may arise over the division of powers between the Government of Nicaragua and the governing authorities of Yapti Tasba shall be resolved by a special joint commission comprised of the following members:

1. Two judges appointed by the chief judge of the Supreme Court of Nicaragua.
2. Two judges appointed by the chief judicial authority of Yapti Tasba.
3. Two persons appointed by the President of Nicaragua.
4. Two persons appointed by the Wihta Tara, the chief executive of Yapti Tasba.
5. Two respected lawyers or jurists from the international community outside Nicaragua.

Upon ratification of this Treaty, the President of Nicaragua and the Wihta Tara of Yapti Tasba shall immediately prepare a list of qualified, impartial lawyers or jurists who might be called upon to participate in the special joint commission should a dispute about division of powers arise. Invitations to serve on the commission shall be made by agreement of the President and the Wihta Tara.

Article VIII

The native languages of the Miskito, Sumo, Rama, Carib (Garifuno) and Creole shall be recognized as official languages for the conduct of all governmental affairs in Yapti Tasba.

Article IX

A. The Government of Nicaragua makes a solemn commitment to dedicate necessary economic and logistical resources for the reconstruction of the autonomous territory and for the repatriation and resettlement of all the people of Yapti Tasba who have been displaced. The Government of Nicaragua shall support efforts by the autonomous governing authorities to secure international economic assistance for these humanitarian activities and for the economic development of Yapti Tasba.

B. The Government of Nicaragua shall guarantee economic and logistical resources which are necessary to establish and maintain the autonomous governing authorities and institutions of Yapoti Tasba. The autonomous governing authorities shall make good faith efforts to seek international economic assistance and to achieve economic self-sufficiency.

C. As soon as Yapti Tasba become economically self-sufficient, the autonomous governing authorities and the Government of Nicaragua shall negotiate a new agreement to provide compensation to the Government of Nicaragua for national governmental services provided thereafter under Article VI.

Article X

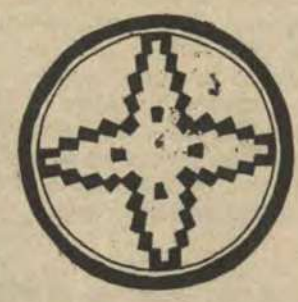
A. A Joint Peace Commission shall immediately be established to encourage and facilitate the cessation of all armed conflict in Yapti Tasba. The Commmission shall have seven members: two appointed by the Government of Nicaragua, two appointed by the provisional governing authorities of Yapti Tasba, and two selected from the international Indian community by agreement of the President of Nicaragua and the head of the Provisional Government of Yapti Tasba. The President of the Commission, the seventh member, shall be the unanimous choice of the six appointed members.

B. The Commission shall monitor and investigate all reports of armed hostilities which may be in violation of this Treaty, shall consult regularly with the governing authorities of Nicaragua and Yapti Tasba, and shall try to arbitrate and resolve any disputes which are found to contribute to breaches of the peace. The Commission shall cease to function only by agreement of the Government of Nicaragua and the autonomous governing authorities.

Article XI

A. The representatives of Nicaraguan Indian organizations who are signatories to this treaty shall constitute the Provisional Government of Yapti Tasba. They shall immediately establish interim governmental institutions, name the Wihta Tara (chief executive) and other officers, organize and call for a assembly for the purpose of drafting a constitituion for the autonomous government, and take all steps necessary to enforce and implement this Treaty.

B. The Provisional Government of Yapti Tasba shall establish the Interim Military and Security Command, which shall organize provisional security and police forces for the autonomous territory under the command of the Provisional Government. The Interim Military and Security Command shall be provided free and complete access to all military bases and security facilities in the



autonomous territory and shall begin regular meetings with senior Nicaraguan military and security officials responsible for the Atlantic Coast region.

C. The Provisional Government of Yapti Tasba shall establish the Interim Commission on Human Rights, which shall investigate allegations of human rights abuses in the autonomous territory and report its findings to the Provisional Government and the public.

D. The Provisional Government of Yapti Tasba shall establish the Interim Judicial Commission, which shall ensure that the rule of law is upheld and that due process is provided to all who may be accused of crimes or other wrong doing during the interim period before the establishment of constitutional governing authorities.

E. The Provisional Government of Yapti Tasba shall appoint members of its Military and Security Command, Judicial Commission, Human Rights Commission, and administrative staff who shall be guaranteed free and complete access to all prisons and all detention facilities throughout Nicaragua for the purpose of reviewing the legal status and conditions of confinement of all prisoners and detainees who are residents of Yapti Tasba.

Article XII

This Treaty is part of the supreme law of the Republic of Nicaragua. It shall be enforceable in all Nicaraguan courts of competent jurisdiction. The autonomous governing authorities shall have juridical personality to bring disputes in the Nicaraguan national courts, but they may not be sued in those courts without their express consent. The constitution and laws of Yapti Tasba shall determine whether the autonomous governing authorities will enjoy immunity from suit in the courts of Yapti Tasba. The autonomous governing authorities, including the autonomous judicial authorities, shall have jurisdiction over the autonomous territory and over all persons within the borders of Yapti Tasba.

Article XIII

The governing authorities of Yapti Tasba and the Government of Nicaragua shall respect and guarantee the full enjoyment of human rights recognized by the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Cultural and Social Rights, the American Convention on Human Rights, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and the Convention Against Torture.

Article XIV

The Government of Nicaragua shall if necessary amend its constitution and laws to ensure the complete implementation and enforcement of this Treaty and the constitution of Yapti Tasba.

Article XV

The Government of Nicaragua and the governing authorities of Yapti Tasba shall provide full and complete amnesty to individuals who participated in the armed conflict which this Treaty ends. Every reasonable effort shall be made to reintegrate all persons into peaceful, productive activities. Amnesty for individuals who may be accused of crimes against humanity shall first be reviewed by the Joint Peace Commission established in Article X. Decisions by the Commission to grant amnesty shall be final. Commission decisions not to grant amnesty shall be referred for trial to a special court composed of an equal number of judges from the courts of Yapti Tasba and Nicaragua. This special court shall be established, if needed, by agreement of the President of Nicaragua and the Wihta Tara of Yapti Tasba.

Signatories

Signatories of this Treaty will include representatives of all the Indian Nations and ethnic communities of Yapti Tasba, the President of the Republic of Nicaragua and other appropriate governmental representatives.

Guatemala: Under The Shelter Of "Democracy" The Repression Becomes Worse

In Guatemala, the months of January, February and what has passed of March have been significant and alarming with respect to the violations of human rights, in a growing wave of violence. Meanwhile, the report of the special envoy to the Human Rights Commission of the UN, in its XLIII session in Geneva, Switzerland starting March 2, strives to minimize the persistent, systematic and grave human rights violations in Guatemala. It was not able to conceal the practices of torture, kidnappings, disappearances, murders and violations of fundamental liberties.

SOME EVENTS.

— In late January armed men dressed as civilians forced Camilo Garcia into a car. Since then his whereabouts are unknown. Two days later his wife Marta Odilia Raxal and his mother-in-law Maria Sismit were also kidnapped. According to relatives, they had received a telegram from the police to come get Camilo Garcia. The two women appeared dead, strangled and half-naked, by the highway to San Jose-Poaquil, Chimaltenango, where they were from.

— On February 15 six corpses were found in different zones of Guatemala City. The escalation of violence began at the end of this month with the murder of three members of a family of the GAM, resulting in 40 crimes. A clandestine cemetery as located between km. 197 and 198 on the highway to the Pacific, at Colomba, Costa Cuca in Quetzaltenango.

— On February 28 the lawyer Leticia Molina Martinez, member of the Committee for the Formation of a Guatemalan Section of Amnesty International, was brutally beaten by two armed men. As they attacked her they menaced her, saying she had to abandon the country immediately if she valued her life. This event took place 700 mts. from the National Police, in the very center of the capital city.

— Luis Sosa disappeared on March 2, according to denunciations by his relatives. He was a member of the group of persons interested in forming the above-mentioned Guatemala Section of Amnesty International.

— It is not for nothing that the title of the Amnesty International report on human rights violations in Guatemala over the past few years is "Political Murders — A Government Program."

— Archbishop Prospero Penados, referring to the current situation, denounced that "there are kidnappings, murders, a lot of violence, and that man is trampled on."

— The Tele Noticiero (TV News) "Aqui El Mundo" ("Here's The World") said that the National Police is in charge of transporting the corpses as a means of hiding the high level of crime in the country. "Efforts by the National Police are not to fight crime, but to hide daily events, which reveals it as a fascist-type organization."

— As a denial of the supposed improvement of respect to human rights in President Vinicio Cerezo's foreign policy, Deputy Hector Vasquez, of the Socialist Democratic Party (PSD), who refused to represent Guatemala in the last meeting of the Human Rights Commission of the UN in Geneva, said: "I do not want to defend the erroneous human rights policies of the Christian Democratic government. I do not want to answer for the policies of the current regime, I do not want to play that game, nor do I want to travel for the sale of travelling."

The Crime Remains Unpunished.

500 participants in the XIIth Guatemalan Legal Congress decided to demand that Cerezo accept and respect the competence and jurisdication of international legislation in relation to human rights. This resolution was made in light of Vinicio Cerezo's Christian Democratic government's talk of long-term reservations about the proposal of the Interamerican Convention to prevent and sanction torture, approved October 27, 1986.

These reservations indicate that Guatemala does not accept and will not apply Article 8 of the OEA (OAS) resolution, which was examined on February 26 by the Congress. According to this, once internal legislation absolves a criminal of the crime of torture, this person cannot be subjected to any international process. This is contrary to the judging of those quilty of innumerable crimes.

Adolfo Perez Esquivel, Nobel Peace prizewinner and president of the Peace and Justice Service of Latin America and of the International League for the Rights of the People, recently visited Guatemala. With the information gathered, he will write a report and present a petition to the UN asking them to declare kidnapping and forced disappearances as injuries to humanity. Regarding this, the Nobel Peace prizewinner said: "Democracy and its stability can never be guaranteed while past crimes go unpunished," and he pointed out that democracy can be assured via the strengthening of the legal-constitutional institutions, based on ethical principles.

Perez Esquivel said he was willing to create a committee to investigate violations of human rights, especially disappearances. This committee has been in the works since the administration of General Oscar Mejia Victores, during which time a "Tripartite Committee" was formed, described by Monsignor Prospero Panados as a "disaster because it was made up of government officials." In spite of this, President Vinicio Cerezo recently announced the formation of a "strictly" governmental committee in which, among others, high-ranking military officials could participate. Monsignor Prospero Penados was invited to join the Committee, but he declared that he would accept on the condition that the Nobel Peace prizewinner, Adolfo Perez Esquivel and the President of the International Federation of the Rights of Man, Antonio Garcia Barrajo, also join.

The Economic Situation Becomes More and More Hopeless.

The last week of February the united labor unions presented President Vinicio Cerezo with a list of problems, among which is their stance against an increase in the price of electric energy, which the government had left in the air for four months. Archbishop Panados del Barrio has joined with the people in the face of this new attack on the already hurting economy, saying: "The Catholic Church is a part of the nation and feels deeply the worries and sufferings of the people...Increasing the price of electric energy in the factories and industries will increase the cost of goods and this will impact negatively on the economy of the nation. The middle and lower classes will pay, and this means that poverty in Guatemala is increasingly dramatic and difficult." He also said that he supports the movements against the increase in the tariff on electric energy and against any measures that attempt to increase taxes.

Meanwhile, the National Agricultural Union (UNAGRO), a private organization of **latifundistas** (large landowners), declared its total rejection of any attempts to agrarian reform, an urgent request by grassroots sectors to the government. In spite of the President's deafness to their needs, during the past few months the peasant movement has reiterated its threats to take over terrains. Simultaneously, there have been threats by the public authorities to use force in case these events should occur.

The Metropolitan Archbishop has repeatedly spoken in favor of this just demand. On February 17 he affirmed that there is much injustice in Guatemala, "the land is very badly distributed and there are too many peasants without work, with starvation wages and as a result the people suffer from hunger and anguish, and with a l .tle push they become violent." The country, therefore, is a pressure cooker, with unforeseeable consequences.

Delaying tactics, demagogy and promises cannot keep a starving populaton down for long. As a result the Minister of Specific Affairs, Alfonso Cabrera, said, on March 5, 1987, that the government would take strong measures against protest movements and actions. "We must dispel this feeling of anarchy," he said to a group of journalists, "it is necessary to set a clear example of forceful decisions," and added that Vinicio Cerezo will henceforth apply "the harsh hand" against all those who protest against the difficult living conditions or for the government's failures in wage policies, demands for land or defense of human rights.

"The Harsh Hand": A Return To The Repressive Methods Of The Dictatorial Regimes.

The secretary of the PSD, Mario Solorzano Martinez, denounced the "rebirth of paramilitary groups" because of the way the security forces repress various sectors of the Guatemalan population.

In this return to the past, one can judge the warnings of writer Jorge Palmieri, ex-Guatemalan ambassador to Mexico during the government of General Lucas Garcia ('78-'81). According to Jorge Palmieri, several ministers, directors of public institutions and low-level officials were implicated in activities of the Guatemalan Workers Party (PGT). He warns that "wolves in sheep's clothing" should not be permitted.

On March 11 the press informed that 25 people, members of the above-mentioned party, received death threats via a communique signed by the self-proclaimed Democratic Rectification Movement (MRD), a new paramilitary group. Other people received similar death threats from the Secret Anticommunist Army (ESA), a group denounced by humanitarian organizations as guilty of innumerable human rights violations. The paramilitary groups are formed and controlled by the government Army.

Those threatened are those named in Jorge Palmieri's article. The MRD promised the exiled intellectuals that they would be put in their places "according to their actions" should they attempt to return to the country. It urges them to lend their services outside of the country because "Guatemala does not need them."

The Internally Displaced.

The Guatemalan bishops denounced that almost a million persons had to leave their places of origin, some had to live in inaccessible areas of jungle and ravines, while others emigrated to the capitals of the departments, all as the sad result of the counterinsurgency policies implemented by the army from 1979 to 1983. Since 1980 the "mountain people" have survived, in defiance of the most adverse natural conditions. During maneuvers carried out by the military forces, groups of the displaced are sometimes detected and forced to turn themselves in. A huge display is mounted around these "surrenders", making it appear that the displaceds are subversives or connected to subversion and that, repentant of their bad behavior, they decide to return to "legality" and incorporate themselves into society.

The most recent cases is that of almost a hundred kekchi peasants. According to declarations of Archbishop Prospero Penados, they fled from the violence and lived for more than six years in the mountains of Alta Verapaz, eating wild plants and enduring the cruelest hardships. The displaced, with much fear, decided to give themselves up to the religious authorities of the Diocese. They were then received by bishop Monsignor Gerardo Flores, the departmental governor, the volunteer firefighters and the commander of military zone 21, Colonel Raul Dehesa Oliva. After giving them first aid for their deplorable physical and mental health, according to an official report, "each family was given a plot of land so that they could work it and it is under the protection of the army". According to eyewitnesses to the event, the internally displaceds who could say something pointed out the army as guilty of having demolished their villages.

Refugees In Mexico Who Return To The Country.

Representing a group of refugees who recently decided to return to Guatemala, Marcelino Ixcolin and Carmelo Puac signed an eloquent note which says that, contrary to that offered by the government of Vinicio Cerezo, "Those who have returned have found precarious conditions as regards food, health, security and education."

The military commanders of the different regions assign them to barracks and threaten them, forcing them to sign the amnesty, even when they have had no connection to the guerrillas. In some cases, they find that their lands have been given to other people, with the consent of the authorities.

On March 10, 1987, the Defense Minister, General Hector Gramajo, told the morning paper El Grafico that: "At least 17,000 refugees in Mexico, this will cause a series of complex problems for the Guatemalan government, ranging from family issues to guerrilla infiltration." Subversion has infiltrated among the refugees and has prepared their return to Guatemala." In this sense the absence of guarantees that protect the fundamental liberties of those returning to the country can be clearly seen.

On March 5 of this year, the Metropolitan Archbishop declared before ACEN/SIAG, that thousands of refugees who live in Mexico "do not want to return to the country if they will be forced to live in Development Poles." The Guatemalan refugees want to live in their hometowns, with access to housing, work, land and health, "but they do not want to go to Development Poles because they know what that implies." He pointed out that "the refugees are still very fearful and will not return to the country until their security is guaranteed by means of the Church."

On the other hand the National Institute of Agrarian Transformation (INTA) published the results of a study on lands available for the refugees. Nery Samayoa, president of the institution, said that the Institute has lands in the transversal fringe in the North, and that it would require some 500 **caballerias** (1 caballeria-427,900 m) to accommodate the thousands of refugees in Mexico. The above seems like a contradiction in light of the unfulfilled promises of the government to respond to the tens of thousands of non-refugee peasants, who, since the advent of the new administration, have been pressuring, in a variety of ways, for the resolution of their dire problem of lack of lands.

Conclusion.

The work of international solidarity with the Guatemalan people has become difficult because governments and organizations have assumed an attitude of tolerance and hope with the Christian Democratic civilian government, as the beginning of a new model of democratic government in Guatemala.

Not underestimating the possible spaces that have opened up, in the obligatory attempt to change the regime's image, we present the other side of the coin, continuing to highlight the real situation, because "our struggle is not against human forces, but against the Rulers and Authorities who control this world and its evil forces," Ef. 6.12. Underneath all the modalities there is an unjust and unequal order, which underlines the relationship between the ever more impoverished, oppressed and exploited majority and those who have made themselves into the masters of the universe. The counterinsurgency is nothing else than the impeding, by all the means of force, now in the hands of the "Rulers and Authorities" who control just by the success of the struggles of the least, the scorned, those who have no value, according to this evil world, understood as the battleground of man against the project of life of the Lord, Creator of Everything.

The evil forces weave the weft that maintains the injustice and oppression of the peoples using lies, alienating ideological struggles, reformisms that never address the roots of the social ills, divisionism that weakens the efforts of the poor and, as if this were not enough, the violence of institutionalized repression.

Our small Central American countries are now more then ever within the death schemes of those who are against those who defend life. In Guatemala, the "Rulers and Authorities", the usurping masters of the universe, clash with the total lack of vision of the national elite. These do not even attempt to provide relief for the enormous and everwhelming problems of the many needs of the poor. The answer to grassroots demands is always NO. No to agrarian reform, No to judging of those guilty of crimes against humanity, No to effective popular organizations, No to true freedom of expression, No to less profit in a nation dying of hunger, No to freedom of movement of peasants under military control, No to a dignified life, No to respect of the most basic human rights...

This is why the modalities that are imposed to maintain the unjust order will not last long. This is why methods that should remain buried in the sad history of our people arise rapidly with renewed vigor. Before the ESA, now the MRD and always: kidnappings, forced or involuntary disappearances, torture, clandestine cemeteries, intimidation, "forceful measures," "harsh hand"...

UN resolutions have kept the case of Guatemala under observation in a weak and inadequate fashion in light of the evidence of grave and systematic human rights violations.

The government, within its plan of lies, does not take responsibility for the repressive acts. Rather it attributes them to an alien plan which is striving to destabalize the budding democracy.

The Committee for Peace and Justice, identified with the poor, asks friends of international solidarity, religious communities, groups, governmental and non-governmental organizations, recognized individuals, and people of goodwill to publicize a campaign in favor of the defense of the life and liberty of the Guatemalans.

WE CALL FOR A CAMPAIGN OF LETTERS, TELEGRAMS, PUBLIC EVENTS TO PRESSURE THE GOVERNMENT OF VINICIO CEREZO TO ACHIEVE THE FOLLOWING:

1. The dismantling of paramilitary groups which are formed and controlled by the government Army.
2. That the Guatemalan government accept and respect the competence and jurisdication of the Interamerican Convention to prevent and sanction torture.
3. Stop the repression of labor leaders, peasants, humanitarian organizations (GAM and Amnesty International), and other popular movements.
4. That the international aid be channeled to solve the huge problems of the nation and not to reinforce the repressive apparati of the State.
5. Abolish the Development Poles and the Civil Defense Patrols, which constitute instruments of military control over the civilian population.
6. That, in light of threats from paramilitary groups and the army, the lives of exiles and refugees returning to the country be respected.
7. Abolish the condition that displaceds and refugees must sign the amnesty (obligatory or voluntary), because they are not subversives. This requirement, rather than guaranteeing the security of their lives is a long-term death sentence.
8. No to the forced relocation into Development Poles and integration into Civil Patrols of the Guatemalan population, because it is an affront to their right to freely elect their place of residence, free association and freedom of thought and its expression.
9. Judgment of those civilians and military responsible for violations of human rights and fundamental liberties in Guatemala.

SEND LETTERS TO THE FOLLOWING:

— Senior Presidente de la Republica
Licenciado Vinicio Cerezo
Palacio Nacional,
Guatemala.

— Senor Ministro de la Defensa
General Hector, Alejandro Gramajo
Palacio Nacional,
Guatemala.

— Senor Ministro de Gobernacion
Licenciado Juan Jose Rodil Peralta
Palacio Nacional,
Guatemala.

— Senior Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores
Mario Quinonez Amezquita
Palacio Nacional,
Guatemala.

— Senor Presidente del Congreso de la Republica
Licenciado Ricardo Gomez Galvez
Palacio Legislativo,
Guatemala.

COPIES TO:

— Senor Arzobispo de Guatemala
Monsenor Prospero Penados del Barrio
Palacio Arzobispal
Guatemala.

— Senor Nuncio Apostolico
Monsenor Oriano Quilici
Nunciatura Apostolica
Guatemala.

— Monsenor Victor Hugo Martinez
Presidente de la Conferencia Episcopal de Guatemala
Palacio Arzobispal
Guatemala.

Fraternally,
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

PARAGUAY: Indians Killed in Mission Manhunt

A violent clash between 'Missionised'' Indians and a group of previously uncontacted forest Indians in a remote region of Paraguay has resulted in five deaths. Fundamentalist U.S. Missionaries, responsible for the contact, have described the Indian victims as 'Martyrs for Christ'.

Survival International has called on the Paraguayan government to investigate the activities of the Missionaries and for their expulsion from the country.

HUNTING THE HUNTERS

The Indians of the Ayoreo tribe, the last group in Paraguay living as hunter-gatherers, were tracked down on 27 December 1986. Their camp, in an area of dense scrub forest, had been spotted four days earlier by a missionary pilot.

For several years, the missionaries have used the traditional enmity of rival bands of Ayoreo to search for Indians reluctant to leave their forests. To carry out the latest manhunt, the missionaries took 34 'Christian' (the missionaries also call them 'tame') Indians to a point near the military post of Teniente Martinez in the northern Chaco. As an advance party of the mission Indians approached the forest group (who belong to the Totobiegosode clan), they were attacked, with spears and arrows. Five mission Indians were killed and a number of others injured. The Totobiegosode, reportedly, feared an attack themselves. They had been ambushed several times in the past by armed parties from the mission, and had always resisted attempts to force them to give up their traditional way of life.

INFLUENZA EPIDEMIC

Some reports indicate that it was several days before the injured Indians were evacuated. They were brought in by mission tractor, together with 24 Totobiegosode. Four members of the newly contacted group have now been taken to a Mennonite hospital at Filadelfia. They are already suffering from the inevitable, and often deadly, effects of contact with outsiders - influenza. New diseases like this, to which uncontacted Indians have little natural resistance, often wipe out large numbers of Indians within a few weeks.

Survival International does not believe that the missionaries are medically equipped to deal with the consequences of this encounter.

THE NEW TRIBES MISSION

The missionaries are from the New Tribes Mission (NTM), an organization which has attracted repeated criticism. Based in Florida, in the USA, and with European headquarters at Matlock Bath in Derbyshire, England, it has over 2,500 missionaries, a U.S. $12 million budget for 'tribal evangelism' and a worldwide network of outposts. Founded in 1942, the NTM describes itself as 'a fundamental, non-denominational faith, missionary society, composed of born-again believers and dedicated to the evangelization of unreached tribal peoples: in their own tongue, the translation of Scripture and the planting of Indigenous New Testament churches'. In Latin America, the NTM has mission bases in Panama, Venezuela, Mexico, Colombia, Brazil, Bolivia and Paraguay. It also operates in Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Senegal, Thailand and Japan. The NTM started work among the Ayoreo in Paraguay in 1959, when the Paraguayan government enlisted its support to 'settle and civilize' the Indians. The Indians' desperate defense of their land was frustrating the search for oil and gas, by several U.S. companies. In 1943, in neighboring Bolivia, the NTM lost their first five missionaries, in a violent first contact with the Ayoreo. The Ayoreo (approximately 4,000 survive today) are former hunter-gatherers, whose traditional territory once extended over a vast area of scrub forest in Northern Paraguay and Eastern Bolivia. The group tracked down a few weeks ago were among the last forest nomads.

'REACHING THE LOST UNTIL WE HAVE REACHED THE LAST'

The NTM describes the Ayoreo and other tribal peoples as 'heathens' and 'savages'. It regards tribal religion as evil. Even Roman Catholicism is not considered Christian, and the NTM accuses its critics of being in alliance with Satan. Its motto is,

'reaching new tribes until we've reached the last tribe'.

Fred Sammons, head of the NTM in Paraguay told _Survival International_, 'This contact was not planned by the missionaries. It was carried out by the Indians. We do not go after people any more. We just provided transport.'

However, less than a year ago, one of the missionaries told a _Survival International_ representative that they are anxious to 'go after' the last Ayoreo nomads. Referring to the health of the Ayoreo now, Mr. Sammons said, "Some of them are looking pretty bad. They want their jungle food and haven't gotten used to eating hamburger type food yet.'

GRIM HARVEST OF SOULS

If previous NTM exploits are any guide, prospects for the newly contacted Totobiegosode are grim. A group of 24 Totobiegosode, located by mission aircraft in December 1978 were tracked down by 'missionized' Indians in January 1979. An NTM letter, reported that it was three days 'before all the women were rounded up; they were scared to death'. Ojoide, the leader of the group, was dead within a matter of weeks. Several others died subsequently, in a series of epidemics. The NTM failed to inform the Paraguayan Government of the '79 contact and refuse to discuss the fate of the Indians. As one of the missionaries explained: 'We've had such a bad time with criticism and things, that now we just keep quiet and carry on in our own way. If we tell what is happening, it always created problems with interference from outside'. In 1986, the missionaries prevented a Survival International representative from visiting the Indians at the mission.

Deprived of their traditional way of life (their diet consists largely of wild honey and peccary), the NTM's Indian 'converts' become dependent on working for the missionaries or German-speaking, Mennonite settlers, who have established farms on former Indian territory. In violation of Paraguayan and international law, the Indians are frequently paid in tokens, redeemable only in Mennonite stores. Many end up in squalid 'Arbeiterlager' or 'workers camps', on the fringes of Mennonite settlements.

U.N. UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. ARTICLE 18.

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

NEW TRIBES MISSION STATEMENT ON TRIBAL PEOPLES' RELIGIONS....

Most primitive tribal people are steeped in cultural practices initiated and motivated by superstition and fear. "Religion", usually the cultural hub from which all aspects of the native cultures key, is generally a spiritist form of worship which is energized by satanic forces.

...AND ON ITS CRITICS...

We believe any attitude or trend to thwart the furtherance of the Gospel to any people by any means is a satanic move to interfere with the building of God's church and must be dealt with unreservedly.

ACTION

Survival International USA has formally protested this latest forced contact to the Paraguayan authorities and is demanding a full investigation of the missionaries' work and their immediate expulsion from Paraguay.

You are urged to write in your own name, to the Paraguayan authorities. You may also wish to write to the Paraguayan Embassy. The letter printed below may serve as a model.

Please send Survival International USA copies of communications sent as well as any replies received, so that we can monitor and report on the effectiveness of the campaign.

Survival International U.S.A., 2121 Decatur Place, NW; Washington, DC 20008

SUGGESTED TEXT FOR LETTER

General German Martinez,
Minister of Defence,
President,
Instituto Paraguayo del Indigena,
Don Bosco 745,
Asuncion,
PARAGUAY.

Dear General Martinez,

I am writing to express my deep concern regarding the activities of the New Tribes Mission in Paraguay.

In particular, I have been most disturbed to learn of the violent death of five Ayoreo Indians in the latest manhunt carried out from the Mission at Camop Loro on 27 December 1986. In this manhunt 'missionized' Indians were transported by members of the NTM to an area near to the camp of a group of nomadic Ayoreo Indians with the express purpose of rounding them up and bringing them to the Mission. The group had been located by a missionary pilot some days before.

Previous experiences have clearly revealed the disastrous social and health problems that result from these enforced and unnecessary contacts, results which the missionaries are inadequately equipped to deal with. Past contacts have led to the death of many of the Indians from epidemics of introduced diseases to which they have little natural resistance. I have been distressed to learn that already four Indians from the newly contacted group have had to be hospitalized, as a result of these health problems.

I am especially alarmed that, despite previous warnings from human rights agencies and clear evidence of the unacceptable nature of the New Tribes mission's conversion techniques, the mission has been permitted to continie its operations unchecked.

I strongly urge, therefore, that you take immediate steps to investigate these recent abuses, with the view to expelling the New Tribes Mission from the country.

I look forward to learning how you plan to deal with the matter.

yours sincerely

Reprinted from URGENT ACTION BULLETIN of Survival International U.S.A. May 1987

"We Are The Great Forgotten Ones"

By Evaristo Nugkuag

A day before the Nobel Peace Prize was handed out last December, the Right Livelihood Foundation gave out one of its "Alternative Nobel Peace Prizes" for 1986 to Evaristo Nugkuag, principal spokesperson for the Amazon Indians in South America. For many years, Mr. Nugkuag, a native Indian from Peru, has been organizing indigenous peoples of the Amazon to fight development schemes that endanger the culture and ecology of their region. Reciting a litany of recent abuses to native tribes, Nugkuag urged a packed audience in Stockholm to view development with a new set of eyes. By including indigenous peoples in the process, development will occur in a way that honors both human rights and ecology. Published below is Nugkuag's acceptance speech.

It is something very new, very special that the panel of this institution should have considered myself, a representative of the Aguaruna Indians, as worthy of such an important prize. It is new for two reasons:

In the first place, tribal people, such as myself, are not used to receiving recognition at an individual level. The great difference between the indigenous and the Western worlds is that we live a collective and communal life. Together we are strong. The individual is important as a member of the whole. Our ancestors had no experience of Western individualism. We cannot conceive of it for our children. The confrontation between the two worlds, the Western and the Indian world, has had a great impact because we were not prepared for individualism, egotism and its most dangerous expression, capitalism, which is destroying a great deal of the world.

In the second place, this is the first time that an institution of the Western world has considered us for such an important and esteemed prize. This is the first time that our struggle has been recognized as legitimate, the struggle of all indigenous organizations who defend our ancestral claims to our lands and our right to be the bearers and creators of our own culture.

This prize is a new development. In the West you have tended to glorify the great deeds of the settlers and conquistadores. How many monuments to Colombus and other heroes are to be found in the cities of Europe? We have been the great forgotten ones. Nobody has heard of the history, past and present, of the colonized, the history of the native people subjected to civilization.

Throughout this 400 year process of conquest and colonization, people influenced by different ideas have left their mark of destruction on our peoples. There were the pioneering conquistadores in search of "El Dorado," who saw in our forebears no more than obstacles whose elimination was an heroic achievement. Then there were the religious missionaries, who in the process of supposedly saving our souls, destroyed our spirit, leaving the door wide open to exploitation. And finally, there were the rubber merchants, who left it to their agents to physically exploit the Indian people to the limit of their endurance.

Our people were weakened, subjected to slavery, to alien diseases which over four centuries have decimated our population.

The atrocities committed on the Indians, and our systematic extermination, were hailed as triumphs of civilization. Of the 78 nations or ethnic groups that existed in the Peruvian Amazon at the beginning of this century, no more than 60 still survive. Of the 45,000 people who inhabited the Huitotos territories at that time, today only 5,000, including myself, can be proud to receive this prize.

Now, it may seem to you that all this should be past history and behind us now. But it is a history characterized by ignorance and oppression by a dehumanized Western capitalist system. I should like to remind you, Ladies and Gentlement, that this terrible history is the history of today, and that the missionaries, the big commercial companies, and the tourists are today's actors and live amongst us. I shall remind you of a few cases, and I am only quoting those that have concened our organzation, over the last few months:

- Slaughter of Ashaninka Indian leaders in the Gran Pajonal region and wholesale theft of their lands by big business.
- Murder of Chief Nuncanquit of the Tsuntsuntsa community, one of my own people, the Aguaruna, who was killed in an ambush by gunmen hired by colonists who had been evicted by court order after a long and extemely costly trial.
- Large-scale special colonization projects which include plans to colonize vast regions inhabited by the Aguaruna, Amuesha, Ashaninka, Amarakaere, Cocamilla, and other Indian peoples, and which are financed by Western institutions such as the World Bank, BID, and AID.
- Unscrupulous permits given to large timber companies resulting in the indisciminate destruction of our natural resources and the subsequent flight of our animals.

I am speaking about Peru, about our recent problems. Our sister organizations in the Amazon Basin have similar problems, in many even more serious:

- Invasion by gold prospectors and mining companies of the Upper Rio Negro in Brazil, endangering the survival of over 18,000 Indians.
- Ethnocide of 19 Indian groups, approximately 10,000 people, by the largest development project in the world, the Grande Carajas in Brazil, which is financed by German and Japanese banks and the World Bank.
- Large oil-producing African palm plantations, financed by national and European capital such as Palmoriente S.A. and Palmera de Ecuador, which increasingly threaten the ethnic existence of the Quichua communities in the Napo River and Coca River regions of Ecuador.

That huge green sea of Amazonia is not a paradise of fertility. We Indians live in an evnvironment that for cneturies has retained its ecological balance because we have applied our knowledge wisely so as not to destroy the land.

The lands of the Amazon are the poorest in the world and demand a lot of care if they are to continue to be fertile. Once destroyed, they will not recover. Only 2 percent of the soil is suitable for agriculture and we, the Indians, have lived on those lands for centuries.

This is the reality that the various governments of the Amazon do not want to understand. They use the rainforest to avoid agrarian reforms benefitting the peasants. Through colonization they are seeking to avoid a fair distribution of land for them.

Neither do the financial institutions of the developed countries understand, neither the World Bank, nor the Inter-American Bank, the AID or any others. Many of their projects fail because any changes to the rainforest in terms of agricultural exploitation will result in the complete destruction of the Amazonian land.

For capitalism, this is merely a failure, a bad investment that in the short-term has some political advantages. For us, who are thinking about the future of our children, it means the loss of our way of life.

That is why our points of view differ. The settlers, the governments, the banks, regard the Amazon as a means to make a quick profit, without giving a thought to the long-term implications of their decisions. To us, the earth is the basis of our existence and we need to retain her whole with all the variety of nature and we cannot negotiate her prize or forget about her. To us, the earth is not just a factor of production. But this is the way the governments operate. They give us small communal settlements, dotted around colonization projects, surrounded by enterprises engaged in plundering our earth.

That is why the struggle for the land is the greatest struggle today. A struggle we cannot afford to lose because our life depends on its outcome.

And the other great battle is for respect. Because these two things go together. If we have our lands taken from us it is because we are seen as being different, we are not respected as equals.

What do governments, religious institutions, officials or the military do to defend our rights? Nothing, because they have other priorities. And that is why we, the indigenous people, have decided to give the process of unification priority. And we are getting stronger, from community to community, village to village, from country to country. The voice of the indigenous people is becoming louder.

Reprinted from Not Man Apart, 1987

ALOHA' AINA:

Aloha 'Aina (love for the land) is more than a Hawaiian phrase or slogan used to rally the grassroots of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana to occupy Kaho'olawe. Aloha 'Aina is the gut-level reason why so many native Hawaiian community groups organize and protest against development on our land. It is a deeply held concept with Hawaiian kaona, *or meaning hidden in Hawaiian language, poetry and action.*

Beginning in 1976, *Aloha 'Aina* was revitalised as an expression for the Hawaiian way of loving, working and protecting the land and her native environment. It is a way of the *kupuna*, our ancestors.

LAND IS RELIGION AND CULTURE

At its root, *Aloha 'Aina* is the belief that the land is the religion and the culture. Native Hawaiians descend from a tradition and genealogy of nature deities: *Wakea, Papa, Ho'ohokukalani, Hina, Kane, Kanaloa, Lono,* and *Pele*; the sky, the earth, the stars, the moon, water, the sea, natural phenomenon as rain and steam; and from native plants and animals. The native Hawaiian today, inheritors of these genes and *mana*, are the *kino lau*, or alternate body forms of all our deities.

The land is religion. It is alive, respected, treasured, praised and worshipped. The land is *one hanau*, sands of our birth, and resting place for our bones. The land lives as do the *'uhane*, or spirits of all our ancestors who nurtured both physical and spiritual relationships with the land. The land has provided for generations of native Hawaiians, and will provide for those yet to come.

KNOWLEDGEABLE PARTNERSHIP

When we live on and work the land, we become knowledgeable of the life of the land. In our daily activities, we develop a partnership with the land so as to know when to plant, fish, or heal our minds and bodies according to the ever changing weather, seasons and moons. So close is this relationship that we continue to acknowledge the *'aumakua* and *akua*, the ancestral spirits and gods of special areas. We even make offerings to them. We learn the many personalities of the land, their form, character and resources. Each place has been named and we love these land areas personally as do the *'ohana*, or families of the area who carry on the customs and traditions unique to their *'aina*.

FOUNDATION OF CULTURE

Land/religion is the foundation of native Hawaiian culture: our beliefs and the practice of our customs and traditions. *Without the land, we native Hawaiians are nothing.* Without land, our language, culture and people cannot survive. Hawaiian music, hula and crafts, archaeological sites, street signs, aloha shirts, canoe racing, surfing, and Kamahameha Day parades would survive as so many other myths — only serving to prolong the memory of the destruction of our culture and decimation of our people.

HAWAIIAN COMMUNITY STRUGGLES

In the past decade, there have been many native Hawaiian community struggles against particular development of our lands, on all our islands. The arguments against such permits and processes include historic sites preservation, access, clean air and water, destruction of our resources, and the many negative socio-cultural impacts that affect our way of life. The developments are in direct conflict with *Aloha 'Aina*. Often, they would rapidly 'industrialize' a rural Hawaiian community into resort areas for the benefit of people from continental nations, and not offer an alternative, island-appropriate, community development that would benefit the native Hawaiian and his neighbors.

MAJOR ISSUES

The following are the major issues facing us Native Hawaiians:

PELE VS GEOTHERMAL — A State of Hawai'i Supreme Court appeal against geothermal development of Pele is being brought on behalf of Pele practitioners who have customs and traditions, beliefs and practices to honor and protect the god and the culture.

KA'U — There are many developments which would adversely impact upon the life-styles of this historically strong Hawaiian district: (1) the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands' lease of Kaulana Bay -South Point to the State for a major small boat harbour; (2) Buyers, Waihee, Inouye and Carpenter's plans to create a bigger industry in missile launching than Pearl Harbour shipping; and (3) C Brewer and Bishop Estate's push for resort development at the famed Punalu'u, Black Sands beach.

KING'S LANDING — The implementation of an alternative settlement on Hawaiian Homes Trust Lands, developed by the native community.

MAKENA/KAPALUA — The maintenance of the *alanui* (ancient right of way) for lateral access along the coastline for subsistence fishing and gathering.

KE'ANAE/HANA — The restoration of water rights to *ahupua'a* tenants; reclaiming of *kuleana* lands with *mauka/makai* access.

MOLOKA'I — The ongoing efforts to keep the island from being overdeveloped by mainland and foreign corporate interests at Kaluako'i and now Makakupa'ia. The protest of the exploitative marketing of 'the last of Old Hawai'i to the highest bidder' at Kawela.

LANA'I — The protection of Hawaiian cultural sites and native plants from planned hotel resort development by Kenny Rogers and Murdock.

O'AHU - The protection of remaining cultural sites and scarce rural land and water resources from rampant development at West Beach, Queen's Beach and now Laie.

KAUA'I — The protection of important cultural sites from county approved hotel development on ceded lands at Waialua.

LEGISLATURE — A state wide push by native Hawaiians to gain control of their own trust lands through the 'Right-to-sue Bill.'

These are a few of the various efforts by native Hawaiian communities and districts to effectively determine and develop native Hawaiian land use and practices, and our own self-governance. WITHOUT THE LAND WE ARE NOTHING.

—Noa Emmett Aluli, MD

Source: Pacific News Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 2, May 1987

Effort to Stop Oriental Fakes Growing

Support for trade sanctions against oriental copies of American Indian work, which has been flooding the U.S. market for decades, is building up in Colorado and nationally.

Marketing of imitation Indian arts, crafts and jewelry will be investigated by the Federal Trade Commission if U.S. Senate bill 677 is passed. It is before the Senate committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation.

Meanwhile, here in Denver, Lt. Gov. Mike Callihan spoke up for a truth-in-labeling move to protect both consumers and legitimate Indian producers.

Many Colorado and out-of-state craftsmen showing at the March Pow-wow want to take the problem a step farther: They're asking for an embargo against foreign-made copies of American Indian work.

American Indian beadwork and pottery long has been copied in the Philippines and the Orient and imported to the U.S. for widespread sale to the undiscriminating. Now, star quilts have been copied in Hong Kong.

The case of the star quilts was brought to the attention of the Camp Crier by Geri Shangreau, a Sioux quilter in Denver. The quilts done in Hong Kong were of good quality, handmade by workers in a part of the world where cost of living is much lower than in this country.

This product intrusion into American Indian economic potential has been attacked frequently by the Native American Arts and Crafts Association, an organization dedicated to promoting authentic Indian work and exposing sale of non-Indian work being passed off as the real thing.

Even the highly commerical tourist shops on the Cherokee reservation in North Carolina sell quantities of cheap made-in-Orient Indian style beadwork, pottery, dolls and other items. And the practice is common throughout the west.

Though the fakes are easy to spot by anyone knowledgeable of Indian work, they depress prices of authentic products with the general public.

Talk of an embargo on such foreign made goods surfaces from time to time among Indian craftsmen angered by this corruption of their art and what they regard as its unfair impact on their market.

Lt. Gov. Callihan, who also heads the Colorado Indian Commission this week spoke up for a truth-in-labeling move. He is trying to get together a real American Indian exhibit to take to Japan.

"Non-Indian art sold as Indian deprives legitimate craftsmen of a market and is false. It needs to be labeled so the consumer, who is spending good dollars, knows what he is buying," Callihan said. "We need some way of identifying that which is truly American Indian made.

I'd support some kind of realistic labeling measure at the state or federal level to protect both consumers and the integrity of the market."

Colorado's semi-annual Indian Market has set a precedent of careful screening of artisans for this very problem. Several area stores selling Indian work also are meticulous about handling only authentic goods.

Source: Camp Crier — April 1987.

Methodist Nominate Indian For Bishop

TEMPE, Ariz. (UMNS) — The Rev. Thomas White Wolf Fassett, superintendent of the Alaska Missionary Conference of The United Methodist Church, is being nominated bishop, the church's highest office, which has never been filled by a Native American.

The Native American International Caucus recommended Mr. Fassett during its annual meeting here April 10-12 at Charles Cook Theological School's Conference Center.

The 9.2 million-member church elects bishops from its clergy ranks every four years to fill vacancies caused by deaths or retirement. Elections in the United States are made by an equal number of clergy and lay delegates attending five simultaneous geographic conferences held every four years.

The Native American caucus specifically encouraged Mr. Fassett's election in the Western Jurisdictional Conference, which will be held July 12-15, 1988 in San Diego, Calif.

Not present at the caucus meeting, Mr. Fassett learned of his nomination when called by United Methodist News Service. "It is a great honor to be recognized by my brothers and sisters," he said. "In all things related to the faith of Jesus Christ and the church I stand not on behalf of the people but with the people, declaring the importance of our faith and unity of humankind."

Mr. Fassett is a graduate of Roberts Wesleyan College, and Colgate Rochester Divinity School, both in Rochester, N.Y. He has also studied at Yale University Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.

The Hopi Epicentre

The Hopi Traditional Leaders from the village of Mishongnovi on second mesa, have agreed to the opening of an outreach office, The Hopi Epicentre, in Flagstaff, Arizona.

The purpose of this office is to educate the national and international communities about Hopi culture, history, and spirituality in relation to current events and how each individual must take personal responsibility toward the healing of the Earth and all her inhabitants.

Directed by spokeswoman Marilyn Harris from Mishongnovi, the office is currently working with:

1. A film project based on the "Hopi/Dine Neighborship Gathering." Funded solely by donations, this film is under the guidance of the Hopi religious leaders and Dine elders. It is an effort to inform, educate and share important spiritual perspectives of Natural Law with the hope of stimulating creative solutions to the problems facing humankind today.
2. Gaining entrance to the United Nations as the Sovereign Hopi Nation to address an official meeting of the General Assembly in order to deliver the Navoti. And inviting the President of the United States to Hopiland to meet with Traditonal Religious Leaders.
3. The production of a seasonal international newsletter reflecting the activities of the Hopi Epicentre and serving as a vehicle for the Hopi Religious Leaders to directly communicate with the world.

The office is in need of *immediate* funding. Please send your donations to: THE HOPI EPICENTRE, 22 S. San Francisco Street #211, Flagstaff, AZ 86001 (602) 774-2644.

Chile: Pope Visits Indians Pinochet Claims Do Not Exist

On Friday 3 April, during his pastoral visit to Chile, the Pope will meet with representatives of the Mapuche Indians. A law passed by the military regime of Augusto Pinochet in 1979 arbitrarily converted the ancestral lands of the Mapuche from communal holdings to individualized private property and decreed that the Mapuche no longer exist as Indians. In fact almost 10% of Chile's population are Mapuche. The Pope's official visit comes at a time when repression and discrimination against the Mapuche have rarely been worse.

With a population of close to one million, the Mapuche are the largest surviving Indian group in Chile. In some southern provinces they represent 70% of the rural population. Their formerly extensive territory has been reduced by theft, invasion and discriminatory legislation to some 2,000 small, isolated reservations. With the loss of their lands, tens of thousands of Mapuche have been forced to seek work in the cities. Others have fled into exile.

'Mapuche' means 'people of the land'. Like all South American Indians the Mapuche's survival depends on ownership and control of their traditional lands and natural resources. Since the arrival of the Spanish 'conquistadores', the Mapuche have been engaged in an unequal struggle to defend their communities and their lands. Successive regimes have tried, either to wipe them out or forcibly incorporate them into national society. Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government offered a brief respite and the Mapuche successfully recovered some of their stolen territory. However, the 1973 military coup which brought General Augusto Pinochet to power, heralded a new and violent wave of repression. The assault on the Mapuche was dramatically accelerated, with the introduction, in 1979, of Decree Law 2568, 'For the division of Mapuche lands...and the liquidation of Mapuche communities'. This unashamedly ethnocidal legislation, which effectively denies the existence of the Mapuche, represents Pinochet's 'final solution' for Chile's remaining Indian peoples.

The Pope's meeting with Mapuche leaders will take place at Temuco, in the heart of the remaining Mapuche territory. This historic meeting will effectively repudiate Government claims that there are no more Mapuche in Chile and give the Indians international recognition of a kind that has been denied them by all sectors of the non-Indian society. It will also demonstrate Vatican support for a sector of Chilean society whose human rights have been continuously violated, especially since the military take-over in 1973.

The Comite Exterior Mapuche, at its Annual General Meeting in Belgium last October, decided to present a letter to the Pope expressing their views on the problems faced by their people in Chile. The letter was delivered to the Vatican's representative in London in February.

In their letter these Mapuche in exile tell the Pope: "We have had our basic rights to an independent development and existence denied, our land has been invaded and our cries for justice, autonomy and self-determination have been ignored." The letter ends, "We beg of your Holiness to intercede with Augusto Pinochet's Military Government to reverse its policy of ethnocide ...and to respect the inalienable rights to autonomy and self-determination of our people...We wish to return, to live with our loved ones, in our own native land."

For further information, contact:
Ken Taylor
(202) 265-1077

Mohawk Bingo Palace Investor Palmer Wants Tribal Contract or $270,000

By Ray Hackett

CHARLESTOWN — The Narragansett Indian Tribe has four months to reach an agreement with Texas bingo promoter Gary Palmer, otherwise he intends to initiate legal action to collect $270,000 plus 12 percent interest or reclaim title to 29 acres of Route 2.

Palmer purchased two parcels in August and September and transferred the title of the land to the tribe. The mortgage deeds, although dated the same time the warranty deeds were recorded, were never filed wth the warranty deeds until Wednesday by former Tribal Council member Hiawatha Brown.

Chief Sachem David Mars said he was "amazed" and "appalled" when told of the recent filing and said the tribe would initiate its own legal action to cancel the mortgages.

According to the deeds filed Wednesday, the Narragansett Indian Tribe owes CBO Inc. $223,898 for an 18 acre parcel purchased on August 22, 1985; and another $45,706.47 to RIBO Inc. for 11 acres purchased on September 16, 1985.

Both CBO, incorporated in June 1984 and RIBO, incorporated in September 1985, are Texas corporations owned by Palmer, according to officials with the Secretary of State's Corporations Office in Austin, Texas.

Palmer, when reached by phone Wednesday night at his home in Dallas, said he was not aware the deeds had been filed, but "I knew we were in a movement to do so."

Palmer also said the deed to CBO "was apparently an error and it should have been RIBO like the other is."

Palmer said the action was taken "to protect our interest."

"Because of the unknown, we are trying to put ourselves in a position that if the new government body chooses not to honor our agreement with the tribe, we can null and void everything that has gone on and walk away with the property," Palmer said.

He added that "if the situation had proceeded as planned there would be no mortgage."

In March, Palmer was named the tribe's "economic consultant" by the now-ousted council. One of the development options considered at the time was bingo or high stakes gambling.

The larger of the two deeds has a one year time limit on it, and according to Palmer if no agreement is reached with the new government he will begin legal action to reclaim the land in August of this year. He said he could not explain why there was no time limit recorded on the second deed.

Palmer said the deeds were not recorded with the land transfers last year "because that would have prevented the land from being taken into trust."

"If the land never goes into trust the tribe can't hold up its end of the bargain. Trust status is pivotal," Palmer said, adding "that if things went along like planned, there would never be a mortgage."

When asked if filing the mortgage deeds now prevents the land from being taken into trust, and development of the land, Palmer responded, "Yes, unless they (the new council) come to an agreement with us."

Mars issued a press release late Wednesday afternoon saying he was "amazed at the recording of a mortgage" and "the former Tribal Council members had always assured the tribal membership that there was no obligation of the Narragansett Indian Tribe relative to the 29 acres and that he is absolutely appalled that this document would be recorded."

Mars also said he has instructed "our legal Representative to immediately file suit to cancel this mortgage deed and to take the necessary steps to get to the bottom of this particular transaction, including the deposition of Mr. Palmer, Hiawatha Brown and any other person who may be related to the transaction."

During a press conference at the Narragansetts' Longhouse in March, Palmer announced the joint economic development partnership with the tribe saying bingo "was one of several possibilities under consideration."

During that press conference, Palmer said his involvement was that of a "speculator," and "that if nothing ever comes of the partnership" the tribe "will not owe me anything."

That press conference was held 10 days prior to the tribal elections during which incumbent council members were ousted and replaced with members of an opposing faction.

Palmer denied he had any claim to the land purchased for the tribe when questioned about rumors of a "hidden mortgage" during the press conference.

"We were willing to take an economic risk but not a political risk. We never realized we'd face a coup," Palmer said Wednesday night. "If they're going to change any contract agreement, we're going to take steps to protect ourselves."

Mars, in his press release, said the new council adopted a resolution April 25 "that the Narragansett Indian Tribe would not consider high stakes gambling or bingo on the 29 acres."

The 18 acre parcel has been the subject of controversy since *The Sun* first reported the land sales last August. The parcel, originally owned by Carl Richard of Charlestown, was sold three times in six days for triple its assessed value.

Richard sold the land to Doverson, Inc. of Coventry for $98,000 on August 16. The same day, Doverson sold the land to Palmer for $220,000. Six days later Palmer sold the land to the tribe for a reported $224,000.

The three land transactions were conducted by two Providence law partners, former House speaker Edward Manning representing Doverson and Attorney Thomas Curran representing Palmer.

The former Tribal Council repeatedly declined to answer any questions regarding the financial arrangements surrounding the purchase, and during the March press conference declined to release any information regarding the agreement between the tribe and Palmer.

Due to questions regarding the land transfers and the inflated cost, in a press release issued March 19, Palmer said "because of these issues which were raised, Mr. Palmer has now asked to have the issue investigated, and is prepared to seek retribution through the courts if any wrong doing or unethical practice has occurred."

Palmer said Wednesday he believed "there certainly is questionable activity in my mind, but its an economic issue and is being taken under advisement, but not forgotten."

In an interview with *The Sun* last November, Palmer said he purchased the land without ever seeing it or investigating its assessed value.

He said he sold the land to the tribe "only after" he had purchases it and realized it contained an Indian burial ground and he would probably not be able to develop it himself.

He also denied having any connection with any other Indian tribe prior to his involvement with the Narragansetts, nor any involvement with Indian bingo games.

At the March press conference, Palmer explained he made those statements "because I was under strict restraint from the (Tribal) council not to discuss the land sales."

The Politics of Pollution

Control Over The Environment As An Issue of Self Government

Who has the responsibility to enforce Canada's regulations which control pollution? That is a question Band Councils have faced in Ontario over the last twenty years and we still don't have an answer.

In the case of Grassy Narrows Mercury Pollution, St. Regis Fluroide Pollution, Shawanaga Protection of the River, Serpent River Rehabilitation of the Cutler Acid site and Michipicoten Air Pollution, the Federal and Provincial legislation has not assisted the Bands in remedial action. The Bands had to document, suggest solutions, lobby the political people in these governments and even go to the courts for solutions.

The jurisdictional disputes are very prominent in all these cases. The Provincial government has the responsibility in Ontario to monitor the air, water and land use for situations of pollution and bring actions to court on behalf of the citizens of Ontario. The Anishinabek are not included as citizens of Ontario and it has been left to the Federal government to monitor federal land and water on behalf of status Indians.

But usually the pollution originates from off the reserve and comes from private sector industry. These industries rely on the confusing jurisdictional regulations and monitoring procedures and the lack of resources available to Band Councils in order to get away with not paying for the effects of pollution.

When the Province does consider control orders on polluters, they also consider the politics of the economy: jobs, tax revenue and political contributions from the companies involved.

When the Federal government considers intervention, they site the provincial responsibility for policing the environment and emphasize their role as advisors to the Band Councils. The Band Councils on the other hand do not have the federal or provincial legislative power to enforce Band bylaws to control polluton sources from off reserve. It is then left to the Band Council to negotiate directly with the company or consider court action in Canada's Courts.

This work by Band Councils is expected to be done by the Federal government with a bare minimum of DIAND funding resources, no access to biologists, environmental experts and/or lawyers. In some cases the funds are denied for legal services under DIAND guidelines.

In 1987/88, DIAND is threatening to cancel the Resource Development Impact (and pollution) intervention program and cut off funds to the Bands. DIAND has never funded the UOI Environment program and expect UOI staff to do all the intervention developmental work with the Band Councils without funds.

The bottom line is that Band Councils as Indian governments, will have to fight these issues by bringing action against the polluting industries. We must have Band staff who are going to organize these interventions and fund raise to carry on the fight. UOI Environment program will assist with names of volunteers, examples of past interventions and help facilitate workshops for organizing Band initiatives.

If Band Councils wait for an environmental crisis, the political technical and staffing problems will be huge. Any opportunity for a Band Council to be involved in general environmental issues at this time can be treated as preparation for the future crisis that will befall many Anishinabek communities.

Yours for the Environment
Alan W. Roy

Source: The Bulletin — March 1987

FROM OUR BOOKSTORE

New Tape

Akwesasne Notes presents a new tape. Voices From The Past Still With Us, is a collection of Native American speeches in both Mohawk and English. The tape features quotes from Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, Tecumsel, Chief Luther, Standing Bear and others. The voices are done using an echo effect feathering Tekaronianeken and Karontowane with keyboard synthesizer as background. The concept is to share the views, ideas and feelings of the original people of this continent. Each tape runs 45 minutes and is available by sending $7.00 plus $1.00 shipping payable to Akwesasne Notes, P.O. Box 196, Mohawk Nation, Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683-0196.

NEW TITLES

Indian Giver
Warren Lowes

This is a book about people — a particular People. Its general concern is with relationships, and its particular interest centres upon the contributions which these People have made to the well-being of the larger human family.

INDIAN GIVER provides the reader with a host of interesting and surprising accounts of the significant contributions made by Native people to the modern world. This book is a major contribution toward understanding the evolution of North America. It will have an impact on society's perceptions of Native people. **INDIAN GIVER** has an important message — Native people have every right to be proud of their history and culture.

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Death and Rebirth of the Seneca

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Tenth Meeting of the Traditional Elders Circle

Loneman School, White Clay District Pine Ridge, Lakota Nation, South Dakota June 21, 1986

The traditional Circle of Elders is composed of the respected leaders, medicine people and elders of Native American communities throughout the great-Turtle Island of North America and islands of the Western Hemisphere.

It is they who are entrusted with the health, well-being and spiritual needs of the aboriginal people and nations of the Western Hemisphere. It is they who serve as guides and teachers for their nations and are concerned for the welfare of the coming generations. They are the Grandfathers and Grandmothers of nations who still carry the original instructions, ceremonies and medicines of the Native peoples of these lands.

These people do not sell, trade or barter the sacred ceremonies for profit. Phillip Deere has been the only Elder Circle representative to be delegated to represent us internationally at a conference in Rome, Italy in 1982. Be advised that we have authorized no one to represent the Elders Circle internationally for spiritual purposes or for fundraising.

We, the Traditional Elders, again speak to the general public and announce that people of our respective nations are complaining that their ceremonies, pipes and sweatlodges are being violated by nc ı-Native individuals and Native American individuals who purport to be "medicine people".

This is a violation of our human rights, group rights, and a violation of our religious freedoms. The exploitation of the sacred symbols of our ceremonies causes pain and distress among our people, and denigrates the fundamental instructions of our cultures and teachings.

We cannot prevent people from throwing their money away on so-called "Indian ceremonies" but we can challenge those who misuse our sacred pipes, sweatlodges and ceremonies. So now once again we demand that these violations cease.

Ho lena hecetu kte lo;
Pila mayaye lo.
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Contact: Gaia Breitenbush Community; P.O. Box 578; Detroit, OR 97342; Tel. 503-854-3501.

Martin Luther King Jr. Award

Nominations are being sought for the tenth annual Martin Luther King, Jr. Award to a person or group who is making a significant contribution to the nonviolent struggle for a peaceful and just society.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation originated the Award in 1979 to recognize unheralded persons who are working in the tradition of Martin Luther King, Jr., and to address the concern that although King is revered as a national hero, the radical nature of his understanding and practice of nonviolence is often overlooked.

The purpose of the Award is to recognize and encourage not only those who receive it, but all who are working to keep Dr. King's dream alive. Dr. King was a member of the F.O.R. Advisory Council when he died.

Nominations should be submitted by October 1, 1987 in the form of a typed letter at least one but not more than four pages in length, describing the work for which the person or group is being nominated. Supporting material (i.e. newspaper clips writings by the nominee) may also be included, but should not exceed three pages.

Please limit nominations to persons/groups in the U.S. only. Current F.O.R. staff are not eligible. Send nominations to the Martin Luther King, Jr. Award, F.O.R., Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. 10960 by October 1, 1987.

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Recipients of the Award have been:
1979. Brother Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick
1980. Fay Honey Knopp and Robert Horton, Prisoner Visitation & Support
1981. Robert C. Aldridge
1982. Katherine M. Garry
1983. Septima Poinsette Clark
1984. Toshi and Pete Seeger
1985. Shelley and Jim Douglass Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action
1986. Myles-Horton Highlander Center
1987. Archbishop Raymond G. Hunthausen

(This Award is for people working in the US. Some people have been nominated more than one year. While Pete Seeger is world famous as a singer, he and Toshi got the Award for their little known but extra-ordinary work together to help many persons and groups over the years.)

Contact: Richard Deats; (914) 358-4601.

$1,000 Poetry Prize Deadline June 30

A $1,000 Grand Prize will be awarded to the poet who sends the best entry to the American Poetry Association's poetry contest. The deadline for entry is June 30, 1987. The contest judges will select a total of 141 winners and award them over $5,000 in cash and prizes. Entry is free.

All poets are welcome to enter. The Association works to spotlight new, aspiring, and little-known poets. Poems are judged on originality, sincerity, and feeling, not just on technical skills.

Poems entered will also be considered for publication in the **American Poetry Anthology**, a leading collection of contemporary verse.

Interested poets should send up to three poems of no more than 20 lines each. Any theme and any style are eligible to win. Poems should be typed if possible, and the poet's name and address should be on the top of each page. The poem should be mailed by June 30th to the American Poetry Association, Department CN-22, 250-A Potrero Street, P.O. Box 1803, Santa Cruz, CA 95061-1803.

LaCourse Communications Offers Native Media Directory

Contents of Native American Media
LaCourse Communications Corp.
Spring 1987

Newspapers & Bulletins: A total of 506 American Indian newspapers and bulletins published on American Indian reservations and in urban Indian communities, including dailies, weeklies, bi-weeklies and monthlies. With telephone number, frequency of publication, subscription and advertising rates.

Magazines: A total of 38 American Indian monthly, bimonthly and quarterly magazines in the fields of regional tribal culture, Native arts, education, law, business, sports, science and engineering, news, investigative reporting, cultural studies, poetry, administrative management, natural resource, research, natural lifestyles and international indigenous issues.

Radio: A total of 20 Indian-owned radio broadcast stations, both AM and FM, in 13 states, and two regional Indian radio syndication services.

Television: The first Indian-owned television station in history in the U.S., plus weekly Indian-content shows on commercial stations, commerical cable TV systems on Indian reservations in nine states, and TV training opportunities for Indian students.

News Services: Indian-owned and Indian-managed news syndication, including electronic computer delivery systems, educational information services, international indigenous issues services, syndicated columnists, Indian photographic libraries and photo contract services.

Hemispheric Native Press: A first overview of the Native press of Greenland, Canada, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru.

Media Associations: Purposes, goals, membership and activities of the American Indian Film Institute, American Native Press Research Assn., Indian Journalism Support Group, MIGIZI Communications, Native American Press Assn., Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium, and Alaska Native Writers Ink.

Minority Journalism Programs: National programs to draw American Indian students into the profession of print journalism in the U.S.

Indian Colleges & Press: A total of 29 Indian colleges and two institutes and the publications of their Indian students — tomorrow's reporters and editors.

Newspaper Archive Services: Where to explore the history of the Indian press of the U.S. beginning in 1828 — and how.

Federal Indian Information Contracts: Key national listings of federal Indian affairs offices to assist in developing Indian stories.

Recommended Reading: A key bibliography on the history of American Indian communications in the U.S.

Contact: Richard LaCourse; 1704 S. 14th Ave.; Yakima, Washington, 98902.

Response to Laurence Hauptman Article

"Circle the Wagons"

By Howard Rowley

EDITORS NOTE: The following article was submitted by Howard Rowley, an arbitrator who is presently active in serving as a mediator in the land claims between Akwesasne and New York State. It is in response to an article printed in Akwesasne Notes, Vol. 19 #1. We thank Mr. Rowley for his submission.

I am worried that some native Americans who live in New York State might be distressed by an article in a recent issue of Akwesasne Notes.

In the article, author Laurence Hauptman flails at the Cuomo Administration's record on Indian Affairs. He accuses the governor of "Circling the Wagons" in dealing with difficult Indian matters. He suggests that Gov. Cuomo is cutting off dialogue with Indians.

My observation of the governor's approach is quite different. I have served Gov. Cuomo in several New York Indian land claim matters. Far from "circling the wagons," Gov. Cuomo's actual style is to reach out to the Indian nations in New York State, and offer a place at the family table. Yet I have always had the feeling that he knows solutions to their problems are full of pitfalls and emotion.

A major pitfall is always jurisdiction. One of my biggest problems in reaching acceptable compromises in Indian land cases is that the state doesn't have the exclusive legal power to govern relations with Indian tribes and nations. That power belongs to Congress. This is a point often overlooked by those who criticize the state for not "solving" Indian land claims. The Cayuga Indians understand this all too well.

In 1977, New York State entered into negotiations with the Cayugas on their land claims. After tortuous negotiation, both sides reached a comprehensive settlement agreement. All it needed was Congressional approval. The local congressman had endorsed the plan, so everything seemed in order. However, the congressman later reversed his earlier endorsement and spoke out against the settlement. That stalled the agreement until 1983. By then, reapportionment had given the area a new congressman. A settlement in principle was reached. Unfortunately, final action on this agreement with the Cayugas has been delayed again. This time, it's because the Reagan Administration is reluctant to commit adequate resources to it.

It wasn't the state that stonewalled the Cayuga land claims. if anything, the state was a force in pushing the resumption of negotiations. This was also true in the St. Regis Mohawk land claim case. Discussions in that case ceased in 1980, after three years, because of internal difficulties in the St. Regis tribal government. Preliminary talks resumed in 1985, and formal negotiations started again earlier this year.

There is also a great deal of confusion and inaccurate reporting regarding land lease discussions between the City of Salamanca and the Seneca Nation. The Senecas hold title to much of the property in Salamanca, and the city leases it from them in agreement that expires in 1991. Mr. Hauptman is not the only writer to report that if non settlement is reached by 1991 on a new agreement, the property will revert to the Senecas. This is simply not true. The act of Congress which authorized the leases calls for the city to retain possession of the property even after the lease expires. If a new agreement can't be reached between the city and the Senecas, the matter goes to binding arbitration.

At a Congressional hearing, it was the state which called on both parties to develop a new lease. The state asked only that the new agreement give the Senecas a fair return on their resource, and be affordable to the citizens of Salamanca. As a mediator, I can tell you that is easier said than done. But it is important that the state says publicly that we should try.

Some state representatives quoted by Mr. Hauptman conclude that this approach demonstrated that there is no "Indian policy" in Albany. My experience has been that this is true — there is no single policy; the state has assured all parties that each claim will be considered on its own merits. Anything less would be patronizing to the people effected by the claims. This approach has been endorsed by Indian leaders and provides mediators like myself the flexibility to find solutions.

These cases demonstrate to me that the Cuomo administration has a record of keeping the talks going when other forces threaten to shut them down.

I have personally seen the dedication of top-level persons in the Cuomo Administration who work tirelessly and sometimes thanklessly for fairness in Indian matters. As a land case mediator, I have quick access to Evan Davis, the governor's counsel, and to Dr. Henrik Dullea, the director of state operations. I have observed Roderick Chu, the commissioner of taxation and finance, work with Indian leaders on a state tax policy that recognizes Indian sovereignty while upholding the integrity of the tax system. I have seen Henry Williams, the commissioner of environmental conservation, work at Akwesasne to combat pollution of Indian land. I have listened to the open dialogue regarding the protection of Indian burial sites. Without exception, the governor's staff reflects his dedication to treat all issues between the state and Indians with the sensitivity that history and a committment to justice demands.

Finally, I am also aware of plans to create a unit directly in the governor's office to deal with Indian matters. It does not seem to me that Gov. Cuomo is circling the wagons. If anything, he seems to be running these tired slogans out of town.

Hauptman Answers Rowley

This letter is in reply to one written by Howard Rowley published in NOTES. In his letter, Rowley confirms two of my past suspicions about his qualifications to serve as the representative to the federal delegation. First, Rowley has revealed himself to be a state functionary, showing his clear bias in favor of New York State government in its many controversies with American Indians. Secondly, Rowley, who purports to be knowledgeable on Indian matters, has proven himself to be ill-informed. I should like to emphasize that as a scholar I do not generally respond by sending letters-to-the-editor; however, since Rowley questions my scholarship, I have little choice but to reply.

From Rowley's letter, I can only conclude that the Governor and his staffers are still hiding behind the "circled wagons." In their "frontier mentality," they consider the Indians to be a "vanquished people" who will eventually retreat from pressing their claims. State functionaries still believe they can dictate policies and ignore Indian concerns. Just as Custer under-estimated the Sioux and Northern Cheyenne along the Little Big Horn, Cuomo and his staffers are minimizing the Indians and cause, he certainly will become a pathetic figure in the present scenario, the sacrificial lamb to be blamed by all when things go astray, much like what happened to Major Reno in 1876. If Rowley was truly committed to conflict resolution, he would sound retreat and graciously turn over the reins to a fresh face with a greater knowledge of Indian affairs and with more sensitivity to the Indians' positions.

Despite Rowley's weak defense, Cuomo's American Indian policies have been largely ineffective. Cuomo has simply made "small talk" with the Indians, delayed resolution of major land settlements and exacerbated Indian affairs by not having knowledgeable and culturally sensitive staffers in the Governor's Office, the Department of State and many other areas of state government. Despite Rowley's "announcement" of an Indian office in New York State, Cuomo and Carey before him have delayed establishing a workable mechanism for administering Indian policies and programs since 1975. The "buck must stop" at the present Governor's Office since Cuomo has been involved in the formulation of Indian policy from his days as New York Secretary of State [1975-1978].

Rowley comes to the support of several top-level persons in the Cuomo administration, suggesting they are knowledgeable, tireless and flexible. Strangely, nowhere does Rowley mention the names of Gerald Crotty and Robert Batson, key players who I specifically discussed and criticized in my article. These omissions can only be explained by two interpretations: Rowley may agree with my negative assessments of Crotty's and Batson's performances in administering Indian policies' or the two unnamed state officials (Batson and Crotty) may have had a hand in Rowley's reply to me.

The evidence is clear: New York State officials have stonewalled on Indian land issues. Despite two decisions of the United States Supreme Court that favored the Oneidas in their land claims (1974, 1985), state officials did not even sit down with these Indians at a negotiating table until September, 1986. It is quite interesting and significant that Rowley does not even mention the Oneida claim in his rebuttal. Rowley also fails to mention the Stockbridge-Munsee claim. These Indians formally petitioned to have New York State officials sit down and negotiate with them. When state officials refused, these Indians had no other choice but to sue.

Rowley mentions the Cayuga and Mohawk claims, but ignores key points. The Cayuga land settlement bill failed because the Governor's Office (under Carey) did not do its homework by getting support for it from key state legislators, county governments, and even from its own regional office of the Office of Parks, Recreation and Historical Preservation. Blaming defeat on Gary Lee (the unnamed Congressmen) is a poor excuse since it shifts the blame on a convenient target and relieves the responsibility for this failure from the shoulders of Governor Carey as well as from Rowley himself.

Rowley then "blames the victims," callously suggesting that the Mohawks and their "internal difficulties" are responsible for the delay in settling the Mohawk land claim. He does not mention that, until recent days, the New York Power Authority (PASNY) was unwilling to offer any of their lands in a settlement. Rowley also ignores other Mohawk concerns. Will a land settlement at Akwesasne take into account land and monetary compensation for the environmental damage caused by New York State's past failures to regulate industries' toxic emissions, largely created by PASNY's (Robert Moses') master plan for the St. Lawrence Region?

Rowley makes his most egregious error in his analysis of the Seneca-Salamanca lease impasse. His description of this dispute is factually inaccurate and gives weight to my previous interpretation that he is a state functionary and that he had help writing his letter. Rowley incorrectly insists that the federal act of Congress which authorized the Salamanca lease calls for the city to retain possession of the property even after the lease expires. That is simply not true. Rowley's interpretation is New York State's position on the matter, not informed legal scholars or the Senecas interpretation of the act.

I look forward to Rowley's response to this letter and to direct replies by other state functionaries; however, I would rather see all the state functionaries involved in Indian matters spend their energies seriously listening to Indian leaders, than responding to an historian from New Paltz. This is something which this historian learned a long time ago.

Sincerely,
Laurence M. Hauptman
Professor of History

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

INMATE WARNS AGAINST ALCOHOL

Greetings:

To all Native American Brothers & Sisters, everywhere;

The reason I write these words is because I have a very grave & sincere concern for all my Native American People! Especially, for the Young People, still coming up into adulthood. But, all of you, My People, are included, in this special plea! You see, I have some very strong thoughts and concerns, that I feel need to be known and shared by all Native Americans everywhere. Hopefully, by my words, some Red Brothers or Sisters will be blessed and strengthened! Which is, indeed, my hope and most solemn prayer!

Okay, to start off with, my name is Walt Fields, Sr. I am a half-breed; ½ Native American and ½ Caucasion. I belong to the Pawnee and Otoe tribes of Oklahoma. I am 30 years old. Also, I consider myself to be an "Indian Traditionalist". I believe in the Creator, the Sacred Pipe, the Sweatlodge and the Sacred Drum. But, this is not the reason I write. You see, I am presently serving a "Life Sentence," here at the Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary. And now I have some very strong feelings and conerns in my heart and soul, that I am going to try to share, with all of you. So please, just bare with me.

As I have already stated, I am serving a life sentence. My crime was Kidnapping & Attempted Murder. I have also had 2 other previous convictions in the past. And, the irony of these 3 crimes and incarcerations, is the fact that in each situation; "Alcohol" was the initial factor, for each case! So, my People, I do have something very important to say here. I just hope, that these words will truly help save somebody, from the unrelenting lonliness, despair and wasting-away; that doing prison time has to offer! Hey, my brothers and Sisters, take my word for it; Prison is hell!

My People, now don't take me wrongly here; I am not going to preach at you or try to fill your minds with a lot of nonsense. I merely want to share with you, some personal wisdom and insights, on what I feel is a very important and delicate subject: Alcoholism. You see, I don't like what Alcoholism has done to me! And I don't like what it's doing to my Native American People! So please, just be patient, open-minded and attentive, as you read these words; because these words are from my heart and soul!

For myself, alcohol was my downfall. If not for my over-extensive superfluous use of this poison called alcohol; I don't believe I would have ever wound up wasting away behind any prison walls. And, I do know that I can't really blame anyone but myself! Sure! But I do also know that Alcohol was the main-factor in causing a negative change in my behavioral characteristics so much that at times, I would go completely beserk. And then eventually commit the acts that would send me to prison. So now my People, this is why I feel so strongly led to put my feelings into words for you! Because I would most assuredly hate to ever have to know of, or even see, any one of you have to come to prison; behind some kind of bizarre act, due to the intoxicating circumstances of excessive use of this demon: Alcohol!

You see my People, now that I have had "the time" to think about and reconstuct my own turbulent past; I can now see and understand that my abusive use of Alcohol was the most destructive force in my life. Plus I do know and believe that my life has taken on a lot of unnecessary heartache and punishment because of my own dependency and addiction to Alcohol. If only I could have known just what my alcoholism was leading to! I would have listened to my ex-wife and other loved ones when they tried to talk to me about what I was doing to myself! "If only"! You see now, I can only hope and pray for the best possible outcome as far as my own situation goes. But that is really all I can do! But, you, my People, the Native American People, can make your own lives work! My brothers, sisters and friends, are worth much more than the kinds of loneliness, hopelessness and despair that goes on in prison everyday!

Now, my People, I will try to express to you just why prison is such a terrible place. So, please pay close attention. I write only truth here! For one thing there is no real Peace here. You see, life is considered a "cheap commodity" in this kind of environment. I mean, you could have an argument with another convict and one decides to stab the other, and nobody cares! A person could get killed here at any given moment, and most likely, no-one would ever so mush as even lift a hand to help! So you see, the "threat of death" is in the air all the time. Eventually we just learn to deal with it, and to be constantly aware at all times and to carry ourselves in a cautious but normal way. And for another thing, there is no real privacy either. In any given moment, a prison guard can just walk into your cell, strip search you then tear your cell apart. Not only that, but these guards constantly have us under strick surveillance. And, if they're not watching us, the big camera is! But the main point I'm trying to make is that we have no Freedom here! We can't just up and walk away from here, until these prison people decide when we can! We can't be with our families, our women, our sons, our daughter or our friends! We can't experience the normal feelings of life and freedom anymore. We have to deal with these kinds of things everyday! And for most of us in here, it's going to be for many "years" to come! So please, my People, hear my words! Hang on to your freedom no matter what! Because, this prison setting isn't worth your Freedom!

My brothers & sisters, my main hope and prayer, right now is that some of you might read these words and be strengthened and enlightened by what is written here. I really do hope that somebody can understand just what I'm trying to say here. My people, don't do to yourselves what I have done to myself! Please, don't ever throw away "a whole lifetime" just for the sake of getting stoned-drunk! Take my word for it: "Prison damned sure isn't worth it!" And that is truth. But, if and when you must indulge in strong drink, do it with as much caution and awareness as humanly possible. By all means! But, oh, it could just be so much better if we, as Native Americans, would realize what a terrible thing "Alcoholism" really is; and then, just "let it be"!

Well, my People I have expressed my feelings as best as I can. I can just only hope that these words will not be read in vain. I do honestly and sincerely hope that somebody "out there has paid attention to what is written here. Myself, I would just like to see Native Americans quit getting locked-up, behind alcohol-related circumstances! Incidently, more than 78% of all incarcerated Native American males committed serious crimes which were alcohol related. So just bare this in mind as you think about what was shared here.

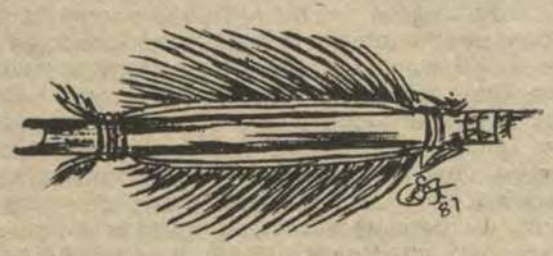
So, my People, I leave you now. I just wish each and everyone of you much joy, happiness and success in your daily lives! And, I pray that "Wakunda" will bless all of you greatly! As for myself, I need nothing. Not money, nor legal help or anything like that. But I am willing to accept any correspondance, feedback or even criticism. So, feel free to write me if you desire. And, I will try to be as receptive to everyone as possible. I am just hoping that all those who read these words, was somehow helped and strengthened by the message!

Ohoe! I have spoken!

May the Spirit Father be with each one of you always & forever. Wee-blee-hah!

Sincerely,
Walt "Buffalo Walker" Fields - 19628-013
Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary
P.O. Box 1000 - B.U. 351
Leavenworth, Kansas 66048

P.S. Brother Leonard Pelter is doing just great! He is staying strong and holding fast to our Indian Way! So from Leonard, myself and all the Brothers here at U.S.P. Leavenworth; Peace & Happiness be with all of you!



INDIAN SPIRITUALITY FOR SALE

Dear Sirs:

I am writing to you in the hopes that you can clear up some confusion on my part. I am somewhat familiar with some of the different spiritual paths that some native peoples of North and Central America hold, as some of my friends and acquaintances are Pima, Tarrascan, and Mexica tribal people. My friends have shown me the sincerity, warmth, and depth of the religions that they practice.

It is very confusing to learn that there are many people here in California who claim to speak for native peoples, and who further claim to teach (some of them charge lots of money) ancient tribal knowledge to anyone who attends their classes. More specifically, there is a person in Southern California, named Harley Swift Deer who claims to be a Cherokee, and is teaching something that he calls "Quodoushka", which he calls Cherokee sexual secrets. Is he a Cherokee, and is he really teaching something of value?

There is another man in the area who claims to be a Lakota Pipeholder because (in a vision) he saw a woman dressed in white hand him a pipe. He has since initiated seven other "Pipeholders", and they regularly hold "pipe ceremonies."

My feeling is that these people have no authority or right to teach these things, but, as I am not Indian, I cannot criticize what they are doing. I know that the many different people of the Americas have differing beliefs and religious ceremonies, but hope that there is someone that you know who could answer my questions.

Walk Always in the Forests,
G.C.
409 Santa Monica Blvd. No. 212
Santa Monica, California 90401

Editors Note: Traditional native teachers and governments have taken a definite stand against the marketing of Indian spirituality. If anyone has information on these types of activities let us know. We will do our best to expose these charlatans.

STUDENT DESIRES TO LEARN MORE

Dear Editor

I am writing because I have been doing some reading and thinking about the Iroquois. As with so many other areas, it appears that the U.S. government is ignoring and if necessary exploiting the people it is supposed to be serving.

I have travelled to Nicaragua and seen clearly the imperialist domination. One of the most interesting meetings I had there was with an educator by the name of Harvey Wells. The frequent accounts of school teachers slaughtered, by the Contra, had a deep and motivating effect on me. It motivated me to learn. Then I began thinking about our own internal government policy, and I thought to myself "What about the people who first lived here? Where are they?" And I began to look into it.

So I am writing to you because I want to learn more about you and your people and I want to learn how "The Growth of America" has effected the true original Americans.

I am a student which for the time being ties me down. Ultimately, I would like to come visit your "Mohawk Nation", but I realize that will be asking too much. Regardless I will greatly appreciate any literature you may have to offer.

Hope to hear soon, thanks.

Henry Stout
15 Mill Rd.
Durham, NH 03824

Editors Note: Prospective visitors to Akwesasne are encouraged to write first and provide us with information about themselves, how long they will stay and what type of work they would like to do. We ask that our guests have sufficient funds to care for their needs as Akwesasne is not a wealthy place. Personal transportation is also recommended.

Letters to the Editors

Writer Has Miskito Newsletter

Enclosed are copies of issues Nos. 1 & 2 of Miskito/NeoMiskito Network Newsletter (MNMN), a publication I've recently started primarily as an information medium for distribution among the Miskitos and other Nicaraguans born in East Nicaragua (as I now call the Atlantic Coast region) who live in the U.S. today, and of an article of mine on the East-West split in the anti-Sandinista guerrilla war that appeared in The Wall Street Journal on January 9.

I might also add that as someone who is one-eighth Miskito, I've always been proud of my Miskito connections and have done my best for some 30-odd years, against great odds and much editorial indifference, to bring the story of this great Central American Tribal nation (the only indigenous American tribe that was never conquered by an European invader) to the attention of the American reading public. Except for a few articles over the years most of my writing — including an historical novel set n the 18th century — was wasted on editors blinded by the conventional cliches' about Indian peoples. (One well-known editor of a famous publishing house even congratulated me on my realistic "invention" of such a valiant tribe, even though he regretted not being able to publish the novel "because the public wasn't ready to accept Indian characters as fictional heroes." This ignorant man didn't even know that the Miskitos were a real tribal nation!)

Now, however, for all the wrong reasons, editors are beginning to pay attention to what I have to say, and taking advantage of this current interest I've written a nonfiction book about the Miskitos which I call "a sociohistorial narrative of the Miskito tribal nation." My agent and a few American friends who have read the manuscript, express amazement at the picture of the Miskitos that emerges from its pages — which is quite different from that painted by the Sandinistas *and* know-nothing journalists and TV reporters of the media.

I wish to thank you and your staff also, for the good work you have done over the years, and still continue to do despite unfair criticism from those who should know better, on behalf of the Miskitos. I happen to know that many Anglo-Americans have changed their views because of your reports.

And speaking of reports, I'd like to point out that the "Rangel's Reports" listed on my letterhead are totally self-funded by me. I long ago learned that when one seeks outside financing for a specialized operation like mine, there always seem to be strings attached. So, mine is a one-man operation (as is MNMN), totally supported by whatever money is left over from my paychecks after living expenses — which is the best way I know to keep my views honest and independent. Broke, too, but oh, how I love the right to write exactly as I please!

With best wishes for NOTES' continued success, and brighter days head.

Sincerely yours,
Marc Rangel

EDITOR'S NOTE: Those readers wishing to obtain the Miskito/NeoMiskito Network Newsletter can write to Mr. Rangel at P.O. Box 2498, Rockefeller Center Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10185.

RESPONSE TO FEMINISM IN PERU

Dear Friends,

I found the review of my book, *When Women Rebel: the rise of popular feminism in Peru*, interesting in its attempt to explore more in depth some of the issues raised in the book. I was dismayed, however, to see that the reviewers overlooked the key paragraph in the discussion of Indian movements in Peru. I presented native women's criticisms of both *Indigenismo (indigenista* is one who promotes *indigenismo*) and the cultural nationalism promoted by United States interests. Then I wrote the following:

"Apart from all these tendencies which weaken native movements, according to the leaders of Micaela Bastidas, is the position of *'indianistas'*, who, have a harder time finding sources of outside financial support. *Indianistas* believe that Indian cultures are superior to 'Western' culture. In order to ensure the survival of the planet, they say, it will be necessary for both Indians and non-Indians to reclaim preindustrial values of community and reciprocity, while utilizing those aspects of technical knowledge that can serve to enhance natural life, whether this knowledge is ancient or modern. Political structures which subordinate natives to international market systems leave them powerless before the destructive tendencies of Western individualism and superpower rivalry." (page 205, *When Women Rebel)*

It was the *indianista* view, needless to say, that I hoped would prevail in Peru. As a long-time subscriber to *Akwesasne Notes* (for a number of years as Andrea Gabriel), I brought to my life and work in Peru a certain sensitivity that, for whatever reason, the reviewers chose to discount.

I have continued to study about Peruvian history and Indian women's rebellion, and would certainly agree that their resistance to colonization is nothing new. However, the power they have achieved in Peruvian society today, through sustained rebellion and increasingly sophisticated analysis - and against increasingly vicious repression and hostility (even from North Amnerican "Indianists", it seems) -should not be cause for dismay. Whether or not the Shining Path movement is ultimately overshadowed by the *mestizo*, urban-based, male-dominated pro-Soviet Left in Peru I cannot predict. Certainly, calling them a "marginal social splinter group", as Annette Jaimes and Moria Carney have done, does not help.

Incidentally, I do not think it is fair to the guerrilla movement in Peru to identify the Revolutionary Communist Party (U.S.A.) statements in Ward Churchill's book as the ultimate work on Marxism and Indianness. I doubt very much that the guerrillas in Peru ever read that statement. In any case, we all have a great deal to learn.

Sincerely,
Carol Andreas
2510 West Pikes Peak
Colorado Springs, CO 80904

STOP THE RELOCATION

To Whom it may concern:

As an individual concerned with the struggle for human dignity I've used the public school system to transmit my vision of multi-cultural awareness to this class of sixth-grade students. These human beings have been the focus of my life for the past eight months. We have struggled together to rid ourselves of the values, assumptions, and actions that have limited our vision. We are still struggling to free ourselves of the self-imposed limitations of classism, racism, and sexism, and, quite frankly, we are also engaged in a bitter war with fractions.

Watching these young human beings become aware of their power collectively, and as individuals, is an inspiring experience. Their concerns and actions are both a reflection of the work of the individuals who have taken the time to provide us with information and encouragement and the students' own visions of a transformed world.

I have relied heavily on *Akwesasne Notes* for information and inspiration regarding the issue of relocation at Big Mountain, Arizona. Thank you for the role that *Akwesasne Notes* has played in this process of enlightenment and for providing us with an opportunity to share a vision.

Sincerely,
Karen Jones
2694 Potter St.
Eugene, OR 97405

To whom it may concern:

Our class is doing some very serious work on the Hopi and Dine fight to stop the relocation of the native peoples at Big Mountain, Arizona. In case you are unaware of what is going on down there, we'll tell you. Well, you see there is a mountain, Big Mountain to be exact and there are a lot of valuable minerals on this mountain. Peabody Coal wants to get those minerals, which would be alright, but Big Mountain is a very sacred mountain to the Hopi and Dine. They have lived there for many generations, the Hopi have lived there for thousands of years. The United States government and Peabody Coal are trying to relocate the Hopi and Dine off their sacred land, off a reservation that the United States government gave them. Why should they be forced to live by our cultural standards? Why can't we adjust to their ways? In fact, they were here first and what gives us the power to say that they can only live and practice their religion in one little place. Now they are being forced out of their land by troops with arms. They'll have no place to plant a garden. No place to graze their sheep. Right now they are allowed one sheep per acre, the rest were shot by agents of the government. Their sheep were shot in front of the people, and most were left there to rot. Their water has been affected by Peabody Coal's mining operation at Black Mesa. Their air has been polluted. People die and babies have birth defects from the pollution. Black Mesa is where the Hopi and Dine believe the heart and soul of Mother Earth is.

To the Hopi and Dine relocation isn't a word, it's a "for sure" death, a pain beyond pain. Now that you know a little about it, how do you feel about the Hopi and Dine?

Sincerely,
Matt Stauber & Geogg Robertson

Josh Allen	Nathan Barth	Corey Beam
Sharon Bluhm	Ed France	Rick Christianson
Tricia Conklin	Jeremy Dundon	Heather Elia
Meghan Esch	Meg Godrey	Holly Graham
Krystal Hydrick	Jamie Powell	Ken Mikkelsen
Zeko Chavarin	Josh Sandsburn	Dustin Schosker
Dawn Streng	Brian Workman	Karen Jones

& Patience Winningham
McKenzie School District No. 68, 51187 Blue River Drive, Finn Rock, Oregon 97488

GUEVARA'S DEATH

Dear Editor:

Re the Review Essay by M. Annette Jaimes with Moira Carney of the book *When Women Rebel: The Rise of Popular Feminism in Peru* authored by Carol Andreas, I think that with the publication of this essay AKWESASNE NOTES has reached a new high in informing and educating the people who read it. However, in all fairness I must point out one error. In referring to Che Guevara the reviewers say, "While implicitely relegating Che Guevara's pronouncements on the subject (guerrilla war/People's war/revolution progression) to the dustbin of erroneous simplism—a matter readily validated by the fate of his 1967 expedition into the neighboring Andrean highlands of Bolivia—

The failure of Che Guevara's 1967 mission to Bolivia should not be used as a measure to judge the validity of his theories since this failure was the result of outside forces and not those forces native to Bolivia on which Che has predicated the success of his mission. Che's group was located by Mark Hurd Aerial Surveys, Inc., using special infra-red cameras. This U.S. company was under contract to the U.S. Agency for International Development, a well known C.I.A. subsidiary. Once the group was located, a handpicked group of Bolivian Rangers, trained and commanded by a team of the 8th U.S. Special Forces sent from Fort Gulick, the U.S. Counter-Insurgency Training Base in the Panama Canal Zone, were able to position their Bolivian counter-parts on the flanks of Che's line of march. "On October 8, 1967, Ranger Company A encountered a guerrilla force in a wooded ravine near the Rio Grande River. Although outnumbered and outgunned, the guerrillas put up fierce resistance until overwhelmed; when the Rangers finally collected their prisoners, they found they had captured Che Guevara himself—the world's most famous guerrilla. Worried that if allowed to live, Che would become a rallying point for dissident peasants and miners, the Bolivian high command ordered his assasination twenty four hours later."[1]

Of course there are those who would argue that you always have to count on U.S. interference in this age of their imperialism. I don't buy that! That's a defeatist attitude and besides, there's a limit as to how thin they can spread themselves and they're pretty damn thin right now!

May our Grandfathers, the Bedagi-ak (The Thunders) guide and guard you!

Charley Colcord/Matawelehsis (little Loon)
Penobscot/Passamaquoddy Metis

[1] War Without End: American Planning for the Next Vietnams. Michael T. Klare. Vintage Books, A Division of Random House. New York. 1972. Pps. 177-179 & 306.

Lakota, Mohawk, Miskito, Guaymi, Hopi: Our Native women are the heart and soul of our nations. Photo: Notes Photo

Traditional Women's Role As Outlined By Bear Clan Chief, Tom Porter

In the traditional Women's Dance, when the men sing, it is to honor all Mothers. The first verse is sung in the honor of our head mother, the Mother Earth. When the second verse starts, the women join in the dance. The Mother Earth has been charged with the duties by the Creator to support our lives to give food, medicines and everything we need to survive. The Mother Earth's and the human Mothers' responsibility is the same. They are both charged with a very big responsibility.

There is no such thing in marriage as 50/50 responsibility between the wife and husband. It is not true. It is more accurate to say that it is a 80/20 proposition. The women carry the burden. They are the worriers, they give encouragement to people, reprimanders, and they do most of the physical actions that the family needs, the doctors, everything. That is why, when a woman has a child, it is she who never sleeps. The least little noise that an infant makes, the mother gets up and goes to check if the baby is all right. The father never "hears" it. When that child dirties its diapers, it is usually the mother who goes to change him. When that child gets his faced soiled the mother knows it and washes him. When that child shows symptoms of sickness, she becomes concerned and looks for some kind of medicine and works to make the sickness go away. When that child shows irregular behavior, either disrespectful or disobedience, it is the mother that begins to reprimand him. When those children start to grow into young adults, the instructions they receive from their mother early in their childhood help the children to grow up to know right from wrong. When a child feels isolated or shunned, it is the mother who is there to reassure that child with kindness and encouragement. Every day the mother speaks to and is in fact teaching that child how to become an adult. No matter what happens, day or night, your mother will be there. How many hours, how many days did the mother invest in her child? It is countless. And that kindness and caring never stops. Not until that mother is buried in the ground.

No matter what time of the day, it is always mothers who have food for us. In the cold winter months when the wood pile gets low it is our mother who told us we better fill up the wood pile. It is the little things that help the children carry on and learn the things that help them in the adult years. If a son spends his time to go fishing and is lucky enough to bring home a catch of fish, than the Mother should clean and prepare the fish. This should bring good luck to the fishermen and most importantly, encourage the young fisherman to try again and know that his endeavors are important to the family.

It is the mother who tells her kids, when the thunder and lightning comes, "Don't be singing and yelling and running fast when it comes." If we follow this, then no harm will come to us and we will show respect for them. (The Thunderers).

The birth of a baby involves a lot of pain and in itself is a great miracle. Only the mothers know that. A Mother (Mohawk) never abandons her children. If she has to walk 500 miles in the snow, snow that is up to your waist, real mothers will carry their 4 or 5 children by themselves, and walk all the way or die with them. There would be no other result. Even when the children are growing, a mother is still a mother and when her grown children are doing wrong, that mother will reprimand again. She will insist no matter what it takes to correct it. To the Mohawks, there is no coming of age when you are 21. She will always demand respect from her children.

A real mother never uses a stranger as a babysitter. She will not leave her children when they are very young with someone who is not a member of the immediate family. A real mother will only leave her children with someone from the immediate family.

With the ceremonies of our people, it is our mother's who make sure our children are going. It is our Mothers who make sure the right food for the ceremony is packed and taken. It is the mother who senses right away when spirits come around the house, and knows that a ceremony must be done so that they do not disrupt the family. It is the mothers who choose the men leaders of the Mohawk Nation. They watch the children as they grow to their adult years. They see their character being formed and know what kind of leader they will make. It is the Mothers who are the leaders of the Medicine Societies. So, the Mother is really the orchestrator of life on this earth. And so we must never dishonor that which we call Mother.

And so as a final tribute to my Mother and to my grandmother who has passed on, I would say thank you. For the pain you went through at my birth, for telling me what was right from wrong. Thank you for teaching me, so that my job as a father is easy because of all you have done for me. Thank you to my wonderful wife, the mother of my children. And to my Grandma, thank you because without you there would be nothing.